/220 cont./

778 Among most families the cross, an old symbol which I
shall discuss later, is still clung to today.

415 In addition to calabashes the household equipment already
• 177 exhibits many modern pots, plates, glasses, and tin cans.

286 A few women still know how to weave ponchos and ham-
178 mocks out of cotton, the latter sometimes out of plant fibers.
177 But here, too, manufactured goods are already being bought.

III. Art and Music.

531 The Caiuás can certainly be designated as artistic Indians.
532 In former times they burned all kinds of designs into calabashes
178 and carved figures out of wood or modeled them out of wax.
Now they neglect these occupations, for life has become harder
and they must produce and sell their products in order to obtain
money to cover their growing needs on the border of civilization.
They like to draw, carve, and model, however, if they are paid
532 for it. I had many of them draw and am presenting the best
124 drawings on Plates II and III, while Plate I shows illustrations of
wood carvings. -- In Farinha Seca and the surrounding villages
Claudio was foremost as an artist. The animals a) and d) on
Plate I, which are supposed to represent monkeys, came from
him. Since Claudio is able to write numbers and his name, he
engraved the year number 1955 on the side of the monkey a).
The representations of the two figures actually resemble a
monkey very little: the tail is missing, and the limbs are much
too short, the body too heavy. Plate II shows drawings exclu-
sively by Claudio. The wooden figure, Fig. 1, which is about
three times as large as in the photograph, also came from him.
A second figure carved by Claudio six years later shows the
same expression and is very similar in every respect to the first
one, except that it is somewhat cruder. -- Ciriaco carved the
figures b), c), and e) and drew the upper figures on Plate III.
Alexandro declared that he was unable to carve; the bottom row
[212] of drawings on Plate III came from him. Both Ciriaco and
Alexandro are completely illiterate.

/220 cont./

532 124 There was far more carving in the remote Tekyraú. An old man who was no longer fit for hard work lived there and spent his days with carving and plaiting baskets. The wooden figure of Fig. 2 came from him. He generally attached religious ideas to his carvings and therefore executed them with care and interest and adorned them with the attributes ascribed to the idol concerned.

Thus, Fig. 2 represents the god Curusú-Mbaengará, who is to be discussed later. It therefore wears the feather crown, a feather belt, and a necklace of small hollow bones, and has a cross burned on the chest. This image of a god with its ornamentation clearly testifies to the artistic skill of the portrayer. It was all the more valuable because it was produced spontaneously, and I was able to acquire it only with difficulty and a great deal of persuasive art.

532 177 In this connection I should like to call attention to the article by Holtje (8), who reports on a drawing by the Caiuás and correctly points out how our culture is influencing even the artistic representation, and, to be sure, in the sense of its be-

532 177 124 coming cruder. I experienced an example of this. Anyone looking at Fig. 2 and another figure of the same god by a young man living in Cerrito will note the difference. The figure from Cerrito shows only a poorly carved head on a column-like /221/ /Pl. I appears here/ /222/ /Plate II appears here/ /223/ /Plate III appears here/ trunk without arms and legs and without any engraving. A feather crown is loosely set on the head, other 532 524 ornamentation is lacking. -- Animal figures and dolls, such as are shown on Plate I, were, and sometimes still are, made as toys. Older children model for themselves animal figures out 532 276 of wax, which show the same style as the carvings. -- The artfully shaped clay pipes for smoking, such as the Caingúá in

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[113] 8. Cf. Holtje, Staden-Jahrbuch /Staden Yearbook/, p. 50 and p. 61, São Paulo, 1953/54. Hans Staden Institut.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 10]

/533 cont./

[illegible] Paraguay here, are not seen among the Caiuás. Their pipes are usually only of wood and imitate the form of the European
(197) ones.

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[198] The music and the musical instruments of the Caiuás also speak of the transition from the old to the new culture. An old-style instrument no longer in use is the guarapá, an analogue of the gualambáu of the remote Caingua groups in Paraguay. The guarapá, too, is a stringed instrument with one string. It consists of two small interlocked bows. The one has a string made out of coconut fiber; the other, one made out of a /204/ very fine strip of bamboo. In order to play one puts the lips against the fiber bow, which is held with the left hand, while the right one grasps the other bow and plays on the fiber bow.

Other old instruments still used today are the bamboo flute and the gourd rattle; now and then one still sees the signal pipe. This and the rattle are regarded as hallowed instruments. Even today every ceremony is accompanied by rattle music. These rattles are usually equipped with tassels made of cotton or with tufts of feathers; in former times they were very ornate. --
[192] The rattle is the instrument for a man; the one for a woman is the /Figs. 1 and 2 appear here/ tacuapú, a thick, hollow bamboo about a meter long, with which the ground is pounded,
[536] producing a peculiar deep sound. -- The dance during religious
[533] and solemn greeting ceremonies is accompanied by rattle music and that of the tacuapú. --

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[439] At the present time many young people have already bought guitars and fiddles from the whites; the accordion too has gained entry among the Indians, and even the gramophone. Last year during my last visit Claudio spoke of getting himself a radio. The rattle is beginning to fall into disfavor among the young generation, and with the expiration of the old ones, the old instruments will probably also gradually disappear.

533 Like almost all Indians, the Caiuás are musical. Their old texts are not sung, however, but recited in a peculiarly accented manner.

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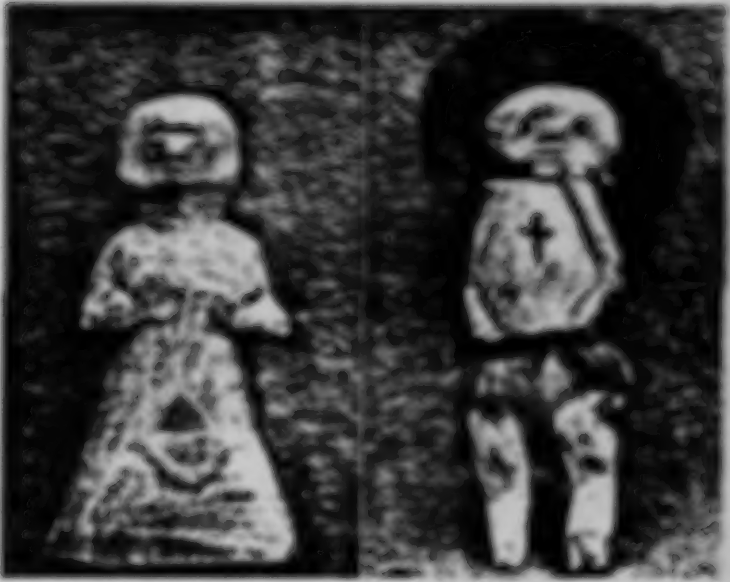

[777]

Fig. 1. Wooden figure carved by Claudino; it seems to be the representation of a god, but was designated by the Catholic-baptized Claudio as "santo" (saint).

Fig. 2. Wooden figure with feather adornment, representing the god Coromê-Shaengará.

/335/ IV. Religious Ideas, Myths, and Fables.

778 One often hears the conjecture that the Cavinás exhibit reminiscences of an earlier catechization, perhaps in Jesuit times. This surmise is based on the fact that the cross plays a role among the Cavinás. It is set up on almost every village plaza and often in front of the larger houses.

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778 In many huts one sees an "altar," that is, a stand in which are stuck a number of crosses and decorated arrows and which is hung with beautiful gourd rattles, feather diadems, chest bands,

/20 cont./

776 dreadful abyss Anharepý. Cuarahý grew wild with rage and
539 killed the majority of the Anhá. The survivors yielded to him and became tame. -- With the help of the termites, who were still human beings, that is, "beginning of the termites," Cuarahý found the limbs and the crushed body of Yasý. He carried all the parts up out of the abyss and put the body together again. Then Yasý awoke to new life, and the brothers returned to heaven. -- The evil souls of the slain Anhá, however, wandered restlessly through the world until the most recent times. Now, however -- so say the Caiuás -- they have gone into an invention of the whites: into the radio.

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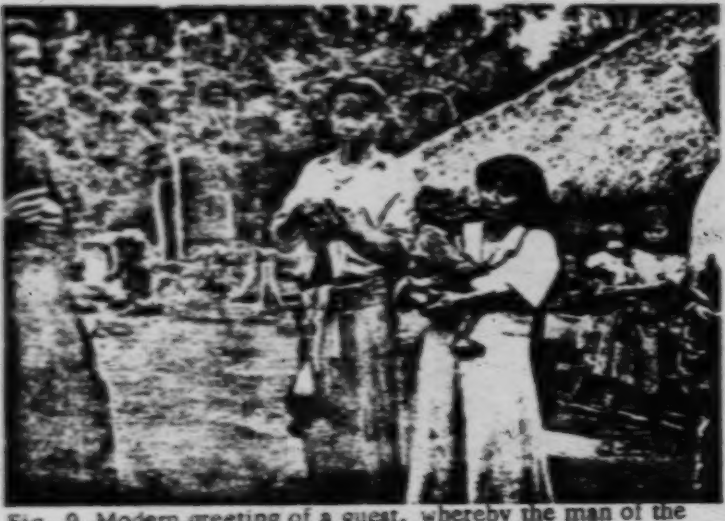

Fig. 9. Modern greeting of a guest, whereby the man of the house, with his wife, steps toward the guest and uses the Portuguese greeting. A remnant of the old tradition appears in the adorned cross and the gourd rattle, which he holds in his hand.

539 Nhande-Rú-Vussú opens the gates of heaven for the good
776 and just souls; the rest must remain outside and return to earth,
775 where they roam about until an Anhá overpowers them and takes them to Anharepý.

/230 cont./

773 It is very interesting to compare, on the one hand, the
184 myth material of the Caiuás that Schaden collected in another
village and from other people with that reported to me by
Claudio and the old people of Farinha Seco and Cerrito, and,
on the other hand, the mythology of the Caiuás with that of the
Apapocuva-*Guarani*, which Nimuendajú has passed on to us. --
[171] One could, of course, draw still other comparisons, for example,
with the mythology of the Tembecuá, but also with mythologies
that lie outside of any Guarani culture, such as that of the
Détoana and Puruborá.

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V. Ceremonies Still Practiced Today.

178 A few remnants of the old ceremonies have been preserved,
574 especially in Panambí and Tehycuê. Thus, the solemn greeting
576 of exalted guests still takes place, in connection with which the
[184] men dance with gourd rattles in front of the cross without moving
[535] from the spot, and the women pound the ground with their
[534] tacumbú. At the same time, the greeting formulas are recited,
[178] adapted to the number and importance of the guests. --

Besides this official greeting, the simple welcome has
[534] been preserved, during which the men and boys of the house receiving the guest swing the gourd rattle. -- The greeting that the
177 man of the house, together with his wife, prepares for the guest
178 is already under modern influence. /Fig. 10 appears here./
574 In connection with it he holds an adorned cross and the gourd
576 rattle in his hand, but without making use of it. He borrows the
[192] greeting from the Portuguese language.

178 Only a few of the religious ceremonies have been retained.
796 In honor of Nhanderykeý his song is still sung, usually in front of
533 the cross, accompanied by the music of the rattle and the
778 tacumbú. The song in the original text runs:

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/233 cont./

796 [793] urging a return to Yacairá and the old gods. They then recited the song in honor of Yacairá. The text is as follows:

[533] [539] /234/

"Yahá yahečá itymbý aretëý Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-reté Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ridžui Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymbý-ryakua Yacairá
yahá yahečá itymby-rieté-ryakua Yacairá."

In continual repetition, as is customary, it says only this: "Let us go to see the maize plant of Yacairá." Then the parts of the maize plant are enumerated.

[537] [622] [177] The above-mentioned meeting ended after the chief spoke again and referred to the new times, to the necessity for adaptation and schooling for the young people. -- The assemblage then withdrew amid singing and returned to their villages.

[793] [178] As long as the old priests of magic live, the ceremonies described will probably still be celebrated. But then their disappearance is to be expected, and the songs about Nhanderykeý and Yacairá and many other things will fall into oblivion.

VI. Influence of the Environment.

178 177 Schaden, in his latest book, reports on this subject in detail. He examines the reactions of the various Guarani tribes of Brazil to their contact with the whites and the possibilities of their acculturation. In Chapter 8 he turns his attention to religion in particular and confirms that the tribal religion, in the main, continues to exist. To be sure, many Indians let themselves be baptized and call themselves Christians, but their [114] Christianity is merely external. At this point Schaden indulges in interesting psychological opinions. He comes to the conclusion that the unique culture of the Guarani tribes of Brazil has received a blow to its vital nerve and that therefore all these tribes will be able to exist for a few decades at most.

/234 cont./
178 To speak of the Cainás in particular, I believe in a longer
177 existence for this tribe. Whether it will remain in Brazil, however,
167 perhaps appears questionable. During my last visit I was
648 aware of a strong tendency toward emigration -- or return migration?
-- to Paraguay. The reason for this is precisely the
threat to tribal life and to the old customs by the continuous advance
of the whites. The Indians know that the surrounding
colonists are casting a covetous eye on the land that belongs to
the Caiuás, and they do not trust the continuance of the Indian
Protective Service. Hence voices are raised in favor of the
free forests of Paraguay. The very Indians who have best
adapted themselves to white culture, who know very well how
to sell their products and are no longer embarrassed in financial
transactions, have also learned from the whites to think in a
practical way and are concerned with the defense of their own
interests.

177 It is only among the old people that one still finds the --
178 typical for the Indian -- otherworldly attitude; only among
[574] them is there the noble hospitality that is still preserved among
the Guarani of Paraguay. The young people, bent on worldly
well-being and money-making, have become egoistical and
avaricious, as they see this, of course, among their white
[648] neighbors. -- In the case of the Caiuás, there is the additional
unfavorable circumstance that their territory is near the little
town of Dourados and that colonists are living all around. The
[797] constant bad example, especially with respect to the imbibing
of alcohol and all kinds of immoral practices, corrupts the
Indian, and the influences of the two missions, /235/ Catholic
and Evangelical, are not strong enough to be able to counteract
[668] this effectively in general. In recent times, under the influence
of the Communist Party, there has been formed among the
Caiuás a group that consciously rejects both missions, but is also
000 alienating itself from its own old gods. /The bibliography is
omitted in the translation; see the foreign text, p. 235./

/9/

Chapter I

The Guaraní Tribe and Its Representatives in Brazilian Territory

197 The majority of the native populations encountered by the sixteenth-century land-clearers in the lands of the Plata basin spoke dialects of the Guaraní (1)

128 1./In the original source the notes for each chapter appear at the end of the chapter. In the translation the notes appear immediately after the designations for them in the text. The notes for Ch. I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source./ The spelling of the tribal names follows the standards of the agreement reached in Rio de Janeiro on November 14, 1953, on the occasion of the 1st Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia /First Brazilian Congress of Anthropology/,
[113] held at the Museu Nacional. The text of the agreement was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. II, No. 2, São Paulo, December of 1954.

197 idiom, closely related to the tongues of the so-called Tupí tribes, who dominated almost all of the Brazilian coast and large areas of
101 the interior. To the linguistic unity of these southern tribes there
197 corresponds a relative cultural unity. Nevertheless the existence of different names for the regional subgroups and, perhaps the great spatial mobility, producing notable dispersion, are the main factors responsible for the quite common opinion that it is a matter of so many distinct tribes.

While it is probable that in other times there was cultural differentiation among the various factions of Guaraní speech, on the other hand, there is no doubt but that in the last four centuries the original differences have in large part faded. Both the Jesuit
[177] reductions, scattered throughout the basin of the Prata /Plata/,
[182] and the effects of the Iberic colonization in general disintegrated the primitive communitarian configurations, leading to different regroupings, which could not fail to bring about a high degree of cultural leveling and homogenization.

/13 cont./

167 One cannot state that the cycle of Guaraní migrations in the
direction of the coast has definitely come to an end. Besides,
[114] in the middle of 1947 I met, in the Xapecó region of western
Santa Catarina, several Mbüá families, who manifested the in-
tention to come to the coast in order to rejoin their relatives and
[787] friends. They had done part of the journey and were waiting
for divine orders to complete it.

121 Scattered in little nuclei over a large area, the Guaraní that
[361] now exist in the national territory are characterized by the multi-
plicity of situations of interethnic contact, offering to the anthro-
[177] pologist the possibility of studying acculturation phenomena on
a wide scale of variation. This fact was almost determinant with
respect to the direction to be given to research. Clearly it would
have to include a general survey of the tribe's culture, but it would
preferably focus on similar and different aspects of acculturation in
the various nuclei as a function of the variability of the conditions.
[182] Furthermore, attention should be given to the other consequences
of the interethnic contacts, especially the problems of miscege-
nation and the ambivalent attitudes of the Indians confronted with
the "national" population and culture, on the one hand, and the
ecological and economic interaction with neighboring popula-
tions and the respective forms of co-operation and competition,
on the other hand. Thus the changes brought about in the /14/
alimentation, techniques, social organization, religion, and
so forth would be understood in a more dynamic manner.

Let us quickly sketch the characteristics of the villages visited.

361 Bananal, south of Itanhaém, near the Rio Prêto, 14 kilometers
to the left of the Santos-Juquiá railway, approximately at the
point of kilometer 77. The inhabitants, almost in their totality,
162 are of the Ñandéva subgroup. It seems to be a matter of a horde
175 that came to this territory around 1885 from Iguatemi in the
167 border region between southern Mato Grosso and Paraguay. The
Mbüá families that came from the Misiones region and later founded
the nucleus of Rio Branco also lived in the settlement for about a
year, around 1925.

/15 cont./ At
621 Praia Grande and in these centers of population they have fre-
[177] quent contact with the "great world," with travelers and tourists,
[735] and so they become beggars and covetous, as well as extraordi-
[733] nary alcoholics. Few of them work on the fazendas near the vil-
[464] lage.

[184] In comparison, for instance, with the village of Bananal, where
women and children are affable, talking to any stranger, /16/
[157] one notes that at Rio Branco the women, reserved and suspicious,
hardly know how to say two sentences in Portuguese.

[361] Araribá, now Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú, close to the
Rio Batalha, little more than 30 kilometers from the city of
[177] Bauru. In this nucleus live Guaraní Indians (almost all of them
Ñandéva) who for several decades have been subjected to attempts
at education for regular work and economic efficiency. The re-
sults are considered unsatisfactory in comparison with those
achieved at the same post with Terêno Indians. On the occasion
[114] of my first visit (February of 1947), there were 78 Guaraní at the
[162] post, besides some mestizos. Contacts with the caboclo popula-
[177] tion of the region are not infrequent.

[361] Palmeirinha, in western Paraná, on the banks of the Rio Iguaçu,
about seven leagues from the seat of the Pôsto Indígena Manguei-
621 rinha, inhabited by Kaingáng Indians. The Indians of the village
162 of Palmeirinha, who come from the territory of Misiones and from
the contiguous area of eastern Paraguay, are all of the Mbüá sub-
group and in part relatives of the inhabitants of the village of Rio
Branco. When I visited them, the census showed 144 persons,
[114] men and women, 72 of each sex. Because of the dispersion of the
dwellings, it was not possible for me to verify the count.

361 Limeira, in Xapecó, western Santa Catarina. Likewise Mbüá
621 Indians, who came from the territory of Misiones, in part very
close relatives of some of those from Rio Branco and of others
from Palmeirinha. The village -- tôldo, as it is called there --
made up of about 15 houses, is located between the rivers Xapecó
and Xapecòzinho, near the confluence. I did not have the op-
[114] portunity to go as far as the village, difficult of access, but lived
[464] for a few days with some of the group at the P. I. /Pôsto Indígena/
Xapecó (of Kaingáng Indians), where the men sometimes work at
tillage as day laborers.

/16 cont./

361 Dourados (Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta), about one league from the city of the same name, in southern Mato Grosso. On
621 the occasion of my first visit 548 Indians were registered at the
[162] post, with some mestizos among them. They were Guaraní -- of the Kayová (355 individuals, 173 of the male sex and 182 of the female sex) and Ñandéva subgroups (42 individuals, 22 of the male sex and 20 of the female sex) -- and Terêno (151 individuals, 77 of the male sex and 74 of the female sex). Since
[164] that time the population has decreased considerably, particularly as a consequence of pulmonary tuberculosis and other ailments.
● [177] The Ñandéva have practically abandoned the tribal religion, no
[178] longer performing ceremonies of any type: among the Kayová, too,
[797] the influence of Christianity /17/ continues to increase through the catechism developed by the Protestant mission founded in the immediate neighborhood of the post especially in order to lend assistance to the Indians and to convert them to Christianity. --
[114] I worked at the post in the years of 1949, 1950, and 1951.

[361] Panambi, a few leagues from the Pôsto Indígena Francisco
[162] Horta (exclusively of Kayová Indians, about 250 persons in 1949). Some years ago the village maintained the old cultural patterns
[178] of the tribe on a large scale, but nowadays it is on the way to dissolution as a result of the ever more rapid advance of the Colônia Federal de Dourados, whose board of directors has almost totally parceled up the lands of the Indians in order to distribute
[114] them to the colonists who have come from outside. I worked at Panambi in 1949 and 1951.

[361] Teicuê (Pôsto Indígena José Bonifácio), southern Mato Grosso, Município de Ponta Porã. I could not work at this post, where I
[114] made only a few observations during a quick visit in 1949, at
[162] which time the population numbered between 200 and 300 Kayová
[166] and a few Ñandéva. The latter had come from Dourados and the former, in large part, from Benjamim Constant or Amambaí. --
[433] The post is organized for the production of yerba maté.

/17 cont./
361 Amambai (Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant), one league
from the city of the same name (ex-União), in southern Mato
621 Grosso. On the occasion of my first visit 470 Guaraní Indians
[162] were registered at the post, all of the Kayová subgroup. Some
Ñandéva who had settled in the village were expelled by the
[464] Kayová capitão. For some months of the year almost all of the
Indians of Amambai, like the other small nuclei of the region,
hire themselves out as yerba maté workers, being eagerly sought by
[114] the patrons. I worked at the post in 1949 and 1951.

Taquapiri (Reserva Cêrro Perô), a Kayová nucleus under the
[361] jurisdiction of the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant, close to
the Paraguayan border, two leagues from the town of Antônio
Dias (ex-Ñuverá). Some 200 Guaraní live there, almost all of
the Kayová subgroup. I visited the community in June of 1949.
It is the nucleus in which the Watson couple worked in 1943.

Jacareí or Pôrto Lindo, a reservation under the jurisdiction of
the Pôsto Indígena Benjamim Constant. The village, located in
[361] the extreme south of Mato Grosso, between the Rio Iguatemi
and the Serra de Maracaju, extends to within half a league of
the Paraguayan border. The great majority of the inhabitants are
[162] Ñandéva, whose culture does not seem to have suffered profound
[177] transformations through contact with inhabitants of other ethnic
origins. Some of them came from nearby nuclei on the other
[162] side of the /18/ border; some even say they were born in Vila
Iguatemi in Paraguay, and one or another already seems not to be
[114] pure Indian, but creole mestizo. When I stayed with them in
June of 1949, I counted about 120 persons.

161 Summarizing, one might say that the Guaraní tribe, which in
131 past centuries dominated large areas of the southern States of Brazil
648 and neighboring territories in Uruguay, the Republic of Argentina,
and Paraguay, is now reduced to a few thousand individuals, the
majority of whom, except those who live in eastern Paraguay and
in the Argentine territory of Misiones, do not occupy large and
concrete areas, but are confined to small reservations or villages
under official protection or even administration.

/18 cont./

000 171 18 under official protection or even administration. On the other hand, it is well known that the Guaraní culture and its biological substratum are profusely represented in the present mestizo population, principally in Paraguay, tending there to give rise to a hybrid Ibero-native culture sui generis, meriting careful anthropological analysis particularly because of its multiplicity of aspects, varying between quasi-tribal and rural forms, on the one hand, and urban cultures of marked civilizatory character, on the other.

178 184 But also those remaining groups of the ancient "Guaraní nation" who in ethnic composition and in way of life remained Indian are far from showing cultural homogeneity in all aspects. Already by virtue of differentiations prior to the arrival of the European, Guaraní culture, because of the isolation of the different subgroups of the tribe, had only relative uniformity with regard to language, religion, mythical tradition, and other sectors of the culture. The differentiation became more marked [797] in colonial times, when for more than a century parts of the population were subjected to Jesuit protection, returning, some time after the expulsion of the missionaries, to their primitive conditions of existence. Later, because of the progressive occupa- [177] tion of the ancient Guaraní territory by elements of Portuguese or Spanish origin engaged in economic activities chiefly extractive, but also productive, the Indians of the tribe entered into [166] [177] situations of quite varied cultural contact. And finally, in the last 130 years, the migratory movements of a series of Guaraní hordes in the direction of the Brazilian coast further increased the number of the modalities of cultural experience, even bringing some groups of the tribe into more or less frequent contacts with modern urban civilization.

177 /19/ It seems that, by virtue of the facts noted, the Guaraní of the present time constitute one of the most instructive examples for the study of the consequences of situations of contact between American aboriginal populations and cultures of Occidental type. No Amerindian tribe seems to have been subjected in these four centuries to the influence of such varied intercultural situations.

/19 cont./

177 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day
178 Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at
once that certain domains of their culture appear completely
open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to
the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction
of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic
contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the
tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional
solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that
become necessary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred
individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the
size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The
[361] smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages
are located farther in the interior, at different places in the extensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred
[61] [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various
local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as
nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a
religious chief (ñanderú among the Ñandéva and Mbüá; paí among
the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a
unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious
celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to
the time during which the group lives in constant relation with
foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the
[563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the
[778] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious
ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the
forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

/20/

621 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village
177 of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians
of this village have been living for several generations in close
association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin.
The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which
are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services
(particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties; see
pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate
[433] in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy
approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost
exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment
621 of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into
182 the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive
563 ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance
177 of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires,
78 all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate.
The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements
and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find
them ridiculous; consequently the performance of them became
more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct.
The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion
of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected
in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

621 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village
177 of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up
exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no
caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been
[437] established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost
[735] always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a
kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and
begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are
subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal
have experienced for generations. In this community there are no
elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

/20 cont./

121
177 Thus, from village to village the acculturative experience of the Guaraní Indians assumes specific forms in accordance with the variation of the factors, which gives the investigator the possibility of investigating what is constant and common among them, and what manifestations are due to the contingencies of particular situations. In sum: the Guaraní perhaps represent among the Indians of today the most appropriate example for studying the variety of acculturative and anti- or contra-acculturative reactions of a certain original configuration, as well as the importance of the factors that interfere in the process.

121
184 /21/ In spite of all this, however, the attempt to study the Guaraní culture as a unit perhaps seems bold. With equal justification one could speak of three, four, or more Guaraní cultures. The populations that speak some Guaraní dialect differ from one another, as has already been shown, in many aspects of the economic life, social organization, religious system, and other sectors of the culture. But, beyond these undeniable differences, there is a common ground of identical or similar elements, by virtue of which all the bands appear as a unit in contrast to other tribes included in the Tupí-Guaraní family. [114] Since the dividing line between cultures and subcultures is not necessarily drawn from well-defined objective criteria, applied with mathematical rigor, so to speak, the classifications of the tribes tend to vary from author to author, according to the theoretical position and the knowledge of each of them. Besides, the choice of certain problems for field research and further scientific discussion not infrequently makes differences, which from other points of view might perhaps be scorned, appear important, while, conversely, pushing into neglect similarities that from a different perspective would be discovered to be of capital importance.

[177] Now the effort to study the culture, or rather certain particular aspects of the social organization and religious system of some groups of Guaraní speech in their reaction to situations of contact with populations of Iberic ancestry, leads to the conviction that

/21 cont./

121 the similarities in the religious system and in the social organiza-
184 tion, especially with regard to the stamp that they impress on
[177] the accultarative process, go beyond the range that the differences
in those and in other cultural spheres might have. In this sense, at least, the diversity assumes secondary importance, determining mere façades or variants of a single configuration. Clearly there is nothing against trying to understand the specific nature of each one of the subcultures; this, however, is becoming more and more difficult, for the migrations have in part erased the original differences. In some nuclei, the living together of Ñandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families has led to such an intense process of homogenization (as, for example, in the village of Araribá) that in these groups today it becomes impossible to distinguish with the necessary rigor the dividing lines between one subculture and another. On the other hand, the high degree of secondary differentiation that has taken place in the various villages, and which makes it clear that the same values and the same basic tendencies of a culture can find expression and concretization in patterns and institutions entirely different at first sight, is surprising. It seemed /22/ preferable to me, from all this, to study the conglomeration as a whole, trying to see first of all what this has in common and characteristically in some of its basic aspects and in its reactions to the contacts with diverse cultures, particularly of rural type. /The notes for Chapter I appear on pp. 22-23 in the original source; p. 24 is blank./

/25/

Chapter II
Physical Aspect

141 "Measure, only when dead, in order to see the size of the
761 grave." This attitude, encountered among the caboclos, has al-
826 ready also passed over to the Guaraní. Many of the Mbüá of
[177] western Paraná refused to permit anthropometric measurements,
saying that measuring the body of a person is enough to make the
latter begin to pine away. In Amambai I participated in the
[764] funeral of a Kayová child: before the grave was opened, the
[804] father took the measurement, breaking a pole to the length of
the body.

123 It is feared that the researcher, with his measurements, will
141 make black magic against the individual. Men and women not
infrequently become so terrified during the process that their
sweat runs over their bodies. The persecution mania that dominates
[57] a large part of the Guaraní becomes apparent there. In Araribá,
where I measured almost all of the adult Indians, the family heads
would gather afterwards, in the evenings, at the chief's house to
discuss the matter. In the opinion of some optimists I had taken
the measurements in order to send them clothes, others would say
it was in order to make pictures, others thought it a matter of
military conscription, and others, finally, that it was "in order to
finish us, who are already very few." This is an explanation,
incidentally, that agrees very well with the afflicted spirit of the
Guaraní.

114 In Paraná I collected the measurements of 26 Mbüá, 17 men
141 and 9 women. At the post of Araribá the measurements covered in all
128 25 Ñandéva, 9 men and 16 women. The material will be analyzed
in a special article. I did not take any measurements in the other
settlements, out of fear of endangering the work of cultural
anthropology.

142 Concerning the descriptive or somatoscopic characters of the
Guaraní, it is difficult to establish a tribal type. There are some,
especially Ñandéva, whose features are so markedly Mongoloid that
it is almost impossible to distinguish them from Japanese individuals.

/26 cont./

142 Not rarely the arrangement of the teeth is irregular. With
relative frequency one notes the absence of the upper incisors,
particularly in the villages in which it is customary to suck a
[164] great deal of sugar cane. The development of caries is attributed
[146] to the use of salt in the diet, at least among the Ñandéva; there
are those who also give as the cause the consumption of half-raw
or merely smoked meat. The fact is, however, that one meets
many adults with very well preserved teeth, without a flaw or the
slightest indication of caries. Among the Kayová, in the individ-
uals lacking the upper incisors, the crown of the lower ones has a
length one and a half times that of the other teeth. Some Mbüá
of the village of Palmeirinha showed a slight alveolar prognathism,
accompanied by /27/ histodontia. With respect to the latter
[732] peculiarity, the Indians questioned said that it was not a matter
of mutilation, but a congenital formation.

The occurrence of the *plica palpebralis* is not generalized
[143] in any of the three subgroups. It is a strange fact, because my ob-
servations among mestizo children lead me to acknowledge the
genetic dominance of this characteristic among the Guaraní. In
numerous cases the fold is not enough to cover the caruncula.

304 There are few physical mutilations in use among the Guaraní.
The most important one is the piercing of the lower lip, to which
boys are subjected before puberty. As acculturation progresses,
[177] the use of the *tembetá* or lip plug is abandoned, as well as the
[192] piercing of the lip. The Ñandéva must have abandoned it long
ago; I have not seen any individual with a pierced lip among
[773] them. But in the mythology of this group, *Tupã*, the god of
thunder, crosses the sky with a glittering *tembetá*, represented by
lightning, which seems to indicate that in ancient times the
Ñandéva, too, were familiar with this ornament. For their part,
some of the present-day Mbüá do not have the pierced lip, and
those who display it do not customarily use the *tembetá*; I have
seen Mbüá boys with a pierced lip only in a group from Itariri
(Paulista coast) who had come from Rio Grande do Sul in 1946
under the chieftaincy of the *ñanderú* Miguel. Those that most
[184] cling to the custom are the Kayová, although even among them,

/27 cont./
304 too, one meets adults who have not suffered the mutilation. In
184 southern Mato Grosso the pierced lip is considered the principal
mark of distinction of the Kayová (also called there Tembekuá,
"pierced lip") in contrast to the Ñandéva; the Kayová ridicule
the latter as having "the face of a woman."

304 Among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, the group most
• [177] influenced by the caboclo culture, the women pierce the ear lobes
[189] for the use of earrings. An Indian of this group also spoke to me
about tattooing, for magical purposes, on both arms; nevertheless
I did not observe any individual with marks of this nature.

302 Few women wear the hair short; most of them let it fall
loosely to their shoulders. The Mbüá woman, upon cutting the hair,
[192] divides it transversally over the crown, gathering it into two
knots (odjíadjókuá), one over the forehead, the other at the nape
of the neck: when the hair grows out again, the transversal division
disappears, and only one knot is made in the region of the occiput.
The Ñandéva women of the São Paulo coast like to make one or two
long braids, which also may be observed as an exception among the
Mbüá of this region. One young Ñandéva woman of the village of
Itariri even used permanent waving, besides painting herself with
rouge and lipstick. The men of the various groups have already
adopted the haircut common among the caboclos, except for some
/28/ of the more conservative Kayová, who keep the traditional
hair-style: the hair falls down to the eyebrows in front and is
[301] also cut horizontally in the occipital region. Over the hair thus
[192] combed with a comb of splinters of bamboo, the paí, or religious
[554] leaders, wear the djeguaká, diadem of feathers, which is exclusively an ornament of the male sex in the religious ceremonies.
[178] The traditional way of cutting the hair in the shape of a crown
is also to be observed among some Kayová women; the others,
"more modern," let it grow longer.

142 Cultural influences on the physical appearance are manifested
182 in the development of the arm and leg musculature. The women
have stout arms because of the daily use of the pestle. Men and
[147] women have very prominent calves because of the long walks
[482]
[164]

164 /29 cont./

75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "pest" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

563 177 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno [582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the [182] elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

/30 cont./

565 [621] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyraíjá," they say that no yvyraíjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

/34 cont./

342 The great house, typical construction of many tribes of the Tupí-Guaraní group, is one of the most imposing elements of the material culture of the Kayová. They call it tapyíguasú (large [192] hut) or óga-djekutú, "driven-in house" (kutú, to drive in /Port. fincar, cutucar/), or, in Portuguese "casa beira-chão" /close-to-the-ground house/. Besides the quadrangular base, its essential characteristics are two: in the first place, the covering itself, reaching down to the ground, forms the façades /Port. frontões/; [192] secondly, the "line" (ridge) does not have any support. The general shape of the hut is that of an overturned canoe with the ribs /Port. oitões cf. outões, side walls/ in ogive form. Let us have a brief description of the óga-djekutú of Paí Chiquinho, religious chief of the village of Panambí. Length, about 18 meters; breadth, [824] 8 meters. Façades of ribs /Port. oitões/ covered with sapé /a Brazilian herb/. The house thus consists of four faces of covering, which close all the sides, the ridge extending in a north-south direction. Three entrances: one to the east, another to the north, and a third to the south. In the front, that is, on the east, extends a large patio, as a dance ground, of perhaps 500 square meters. Inside: four large transverse beams, two to the right and two to the left of the main entrance, resting on the longitudinal beams, against which are supported the laths of the wall-covering driven [778] into the ground. On the side opposite the main entrance, an "altar," a wooden framework, in front of which part of the religious dances are performed.

The óga-djekutú is a solid construction that resists the incle-[824]ment weather for many years. No nail is to be found in it: everything is tied with cipo.

341 178 When the original habitation of the Kayová great-family yields its place to a certain number of houses for elementary families, it not only suffers a reduction in size, but also quite profound changes in its architectural structure, approximating in various directions the types of Brazilian and Paraguayan rural construction. [177] The acculturation in the different spheres of material culture could not fail to accompany and in part even precede the correlated changes in the non-material sphere.

/36 cont./

341 342 177 From the architectural point of view, there are two essential characteristics of the great house of the Kayová in contrast to the caboclo dwellings /37/ of the region: the lack of separation or division between covering and wall and, secondly, the absence of supports for the central line of the ridge.

[192] One of the first concessions that is made to caboclo architecture is the adoption of central support for the ridge line. Next the covering is detached from the walls. Finally, the [illegible] (corr. of "ramada" /hut made of branches/) is built, a veranda or porch, sometimes separate from the house, covered with sapé. It is used as "living and dancing room" /quoted in English/. A typical example of the transition between the traditional Kayová dwelling and the caboclo habitation is the house of the Indian [illegible] of Dourados: to the predominantly Kayová shape was joined the Iberic veranda on the south side; moreover, instead of a door, some pieces of wood are used.

342 177 178 The Kayová habitations built according to the traditional technique of the tribe are already quite rare nowadays. Almost all of the Indians have come to prefer houses of the caboclo type or at most constructions in the mixed style, which tend more and more to lose the traces of sylvicolist origin. The traditional Kayová house satisfied a series of requisites of the social and religious organization. [536] It constituted an ideal shelter for the conjunction of elementary families that, congregate in the great-family under the protection of a single chief, formed an intimate community of life, with economic, religious, and political interests. The new conditions of life to which the tribe has been subjected for some decades have brought about, as we shall see, the fractioning of the great-family and, concomitantly, the replacement of the great house by some huts of caboclo type more or less close to one another. [535] For certain religious and profane dances of the chicha celebrations, performed in part in the dance area in front of the hut and in part in the interior of it, the traditional construction has the advantage of offering better conditions of space by not having posts or poles in the central line, which would obstruct the movements of the dancers.

/35 cont./

342 [596] The extent of the Kayová house of traditional type is limited only as to breadth, which depends on the length of the poles driven into the ground: the building may be longer or shorter, varying according to the number of elementary families that make up the great-family. It would be easy to enlarge it, making an extension /Port. puxado/; but it has not been made known to me that such has been done.

178 433 464 594 [177] The type of the great-house is not adequate for the new conditions of life of the Kayová. The elementary family is becoming more and more the fundamental unit of production and consumption. The economy, failing to be self-sufficient, obliges the men to leave the village and to /36/ work in the yerbales in order to earn the money needed to obtain the many things that are considered indispensable and that only civilization can give them. Because each adult man earns his money separately according to the services he has done for the patron, the primitive group-method of production is broken up.

342 345 The great houses are becoming so rare among the Kayová that in the different villages I have visited I found only three: the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho in the village of Panambi; the one belonging to Isidro in Dourados; and one in Taquapiri or Cêrro Perõ. The first one and the one in Taquapiri were used as dwellings and as a house for celebrations, whereas the one belonging to Isidro, less than the one belonging to Paí Chiquinho, was used only for the chicha celebrations that Paí Vitaliano, Isidro's father, organized in it. But I have also seen chicha celebrations in houses of modern construction, although more spacious ones than the common dwellings. The great house for dances that belonged to Paí José Bourbon Catalan in Amambai, where there was a special room as the chamber of the doctor-sorcerer and his wife, was very carefully built, but it, too, did not follow the original pattern.

[123] [552] The paí has a special affection for the house of celebrations and he is happy when the visitor refers to it in terms of praise. Paí José, who regarded me as one of the most educated representatives of the civilized world, honored me with a request to choose a name for his

/36 cont./
342 house, built a short time before. I suggested the name arandú-
345 roga (house of knowledge) in honor of its owner, an Indian both
[123] extraordinarily wise and versed in the religious doctrines of the
[552] tribe. Paí Chiquinho, too, was proud of his house, which in
fact was a building of rare beauty.

342 Aside from insignificant details, the majority of the houses
[184] (óga, óy) of the present-day Mbüá and Ñandéva are identical to
those of the neighboring rural populations: quarters with roofs hav-
ing two slopes, a few square meters, and reduced in height; those
of the Mbüá a little lower than those of the Ñandéva. As an ex-
ception there were some open dwellings in Jacareí: only one wall
and a roof with three slopes. Almost everything is tied with cipo,
more rarely with embira; there are houses built without utilizing
a nail. The larger ones, among the Ñandéva, are divided or
semidivided into two or more rooms. Many even have door and
[192] window. The walls (korá), made of pickets /Port. pau a pique/,
[824] of poles or of split bamboo, are rarely /37/ covered with clay (thus
[317] they breed many insects /Port. baratas/) and ordinarily have a
partial lining of leaves of djedjý guaricanga, pindó (palm), or
[192] djapé (sapé). For the covering (djoíá), which rests on small beams
[824] made of palm trunks or other plants, they also use djedjý, pindó,
and djapé. Among the Ñandéva the coverings of djedjy are made
with folded leaves; on the coast they are tied in the caboclo
[184] manner. The use of special wooden needles to sew the covering
[413] of the dwellings was formerly common to the three subgroups of
the tribe.

178 In the sectors of material culture, the ones most permeated
177 by the infiltration of foreign elements, the acceptance of objects
439 of industrial origin takes place parallelly with the loss of tradi-
tional techniques. As iron pots are imported, the art of ceramics disappears, the buying of manufactured cloth ruins spinning and weaving techniques, matches lead to the abandonment of the traditional fire-making apparatus. And so forth. Some barriers that on occasion intermittently oppose these transformations are the impossibility of obtaining imported merchandise, sporadic antiacculturative manifestations of religious motivation, and, finally, the use of certain native techniques to serve the need of the Guaraní to find a place in the regional economy in which they have begun to interact.

/37 cont./

352 In the cold regions above all the sleeping hammock has
[177] practically been abandoned and replaced by the jirau or tarimba
[513] /a bed of boards, as in a guardhouse/, the primitive caboclo bed,
[192] which is called tupá. Many sleep on the ground, near the fire.
The Mbüá of Rio Branco say that they make hammocks of embira
only for trading. I saw small hammocks for children or used as
seats among the Mbüá of Itariri, made of either timbopeva or
embira; they also exist among the caiçaras /caboclos of the
coast/, who call them puçás and must have received them from
the ancient Tupinambá. The Ñandéva of Bananal make small
"hammocks" out of cotton cloth, to lull children to sleep.

356 For the visitor the Guaraní house, with very rare exceptions,
[412] has two nice touches that deserve special mention. In the first
[824] place the relative cleanliness, being swept once or more a day
[192] with the tapýixá, a broom made of rosemary or xiriríka. Secondly,
the hospitality: the foreigner is immediately invited to sit on
574 the apyká (a little bench made out of a single piece of wood,
[352] sometimes zoomorphic among the Mbüá, who call it tendá); if
[192] by chance the head of the family is occupying the only stool that he
possesses, he will get up and say: "eguapý," sit down!

352 One can hardly speak of furnishings. Tables and chairs are
found only as exceptions. The pieces of clothing are usually /38/
[296] hung on the cipó imbé /a kind of cipo/ stretched in the dwelling;
only the most progressive ones have a trunk or portmanteau. In-
353 side or outside the house the more industrious ones build a frame-
work of horizontal poles high enough not to be reached by dogs and
used for safeguarding provisions and cooking utensils. Everything
else is kept in baskets, stuck under the roof, or hung from the
beams. On the wall a calender or a print from a calender, a
polychrome picture of a saint, or, as in one instance, a large
picture of the President of the Republic may show the more or less
eager desire to appear civilized.

/38 cont./

2. Clothing

291 Cloth for making clothing, however poor its quality, is the
177 most coveted of the gifts that one can take to the population of a
Guaraní village. The most evident manifestation of the misery
and material poverty of the present-day Guaraní is not to have
291 anything with which to clothe himself. Clothes of European type
177 have become as necessary for him as they are for us. Not so much
609 to serve him as protection against cold and rain, for the rigors of
156 the weather do not preoccupy him in such a manifest way, but because
his relations with foreign people demand that the Indian present
himself dressed. The "bare" Indian, one who does not have
a shirt and trousers to cover the nakedness of his body, does not
leave his hut when someone visits the village.

291 European clothing thus gives the Guaraní more assurance
156 in his attitudes and capacity for self-affirmation in relation to
182 the civilized man, who looks at the Indian's nudity as the most
186 eloquent expression of cultural backwardness and even of savagry.
177 In the struggle for an acceptable status with regard to the caboclo,
the Indian therefore cannot dispense with clothing. Another function
of the clothing of Western type is the defense of the nuclear
spheres of the tribal culture. Dressing in the European way, the
Guaraní has the appearance of being civilized; he thus avoids
criticism and mockery, and it is easier for him to preserve cultural
values that he by no means wants to give up.

296 From the point of view of hygiene, the use of clothing is highly
515 detrimental, for as soon as the Indian puts on garb of European type
the cleanliness of the body leaves much to be desired; it is as though
the clothing made baths dispensable. Washing the clothes, too, is
a pattern poorly integrated in the culture. There are many Indians
who, as soon as they get a piece of clothing, put it on without losing
any time, using it day and night, until it falls apart.

/39/

291 Long before the present phase of acculturation, which has
177 been going on for five or six decades perhaps, the continental
132 climate of southern Mato Grosso, quite severe in the winter
months, had already forced the Guaraní populations (mainly the
Kayová) of the region to adopt garments in order to protect themselves
against the inclement weather. The direct influence of
Chaco tribes in this respect is undeniable.

291 The principal pieces of the traditional male clothing of the
Kayová are three: the txiripá, the txumbé, and the ponchito.
[283] All of them are made of cotton fiber (mandydjú inimbó), pro-
[462] duced by the Indians themselves. The work of spinning, dyeing, and
[286] weaving falls on the women. Nowadays, however, these artifacts
[386] of the Kayová Indian are becoming more and more rare. The
291 present generation still remembers the time when many wore these
178 garments, which are on the verge of disappearing. And it has not
been very long ago that they were mandatory for anyone who
wanted to participate in the dances and prayers. Paí Vitaliano
[796] in Dourados still displays them as a sacerdotal ornament for the
[881] celebration of the "baptism of the maize /Port. milho/" and
other great solemnities, especially in the initiation of the boys.
Among the Kayová of Amambai I heard it said that the boys, for
their part, adorn themselves for the great ceremony with the traditional
clothing of the tribe and with feather ornaments on the
head and hands.

291 The txiripá, which falls below the knee, giving the impres-
[192] sion of a skirt, is a simple cloth of cotton thread, rectangular in
shape and provided with fringes (ipotý) on three sides. The upper
part (which does not have any fringe), folded back beforehand, in
a width of half a span, goes around the waist, from right to left,
turning in the front as far as the left hip, so as to cover the anterior
part of the body doubly and the posterior part only once.

[114] In all my visits to Kayová villages I found only one txiripá:
that of Paí Vitaliano of Dourados. It is made of undyed cotton and
[386] measures some 140 by 75 centimeters; like all or almost all ob-
jects linked to the religious cult, it displays urucú /annatto/ stains
by way of decoration.

/41 cont./

292 778 In more than one village I saw that the crosses used by the doctor-sorcerers during the religious dances are clothed in the *ponchito*, a fact for which I have not found a satisfactory explanation. [177] Perhaps there is influence from the stole of Paraguay and many regions of rural Brazil, common on the crosses of the Kayová and Ñandéva graves of southern Mato Grosso. Or is the idea of a personification of the cross linked to this *ponchito*?

291 /42/ But, aside from the *ponchito*, the Kayová are also familiar with the common poncho. The handsome red woolen [192] [435] poncho of industrial manufacture -- the *pÿtĩ* or *puitĩ* of the rural populations of Paraguay and even of southern Mato Grosso -- is one of the great aspirations of every Kayová, but inaccessible for his purse (it costs about four hundred cruzeiros). In the village of [192] Dourados there were two Kayová who possessed a poncho made from sheep wool (*ovetxá raguê*), both made by women of the tribe. The larger one measures two meters long and 90 centimeters wide, being provided with fringes on the narrow sides; it is made of coarse threads of grayish wool and on each side has two dark bands very close to each other, which give it a very distinctive touch. [428] The poncho belonged to the chief of the post, who had inherited it from his father. The second specimen is much smaller; it is barely 110 centimeters in length, with an average width of about 75 centimeters; it is also of grayish wool, having in the central part a dark stripe of about 20 centimeters. The Indians told me that in both ponchos the light wool as well as the dark is of natural color. [171] Woolen ponchos also occur among the Chaco Indians.

[192] [177] A complementary piece of male Kayová garb, although of much more recent origin, is the *aparato* (corruption of "*alpargata*"), a sandal of leather with rubber soles, which the men make from automobile tires. A good present for a Kayová is a pair of soles of this material, for the *apárato*, in general use among the yerba-maté workers of the region, is very suitable for working with heavy burdens on the damp and slippery ground of the yerbales. [482] [147] It is to be noted that the yerba-maté worker carries on his shoulders up to thirty Paraguayan arrobas or three-hundred kilos of

/43 cont./

291 184 belonged exclusively to the latter, and as for the tambéó and the other pieces I have not noticed any among the Ñandéva. The women's garment, the tipói (typói?), which has been described to me as similar to that of the Kayová women, seems to have disappeared.

291 [192] The Mbüá have as male attire the tambéu (tambéó), a sort of chiripá, which is reduced to a band of cloth that, passing between the legs, is fastened by a leather or cotton belt (koĩtsĩ) in such a way that one end hangs down in front and the other one behind. [114] On none of my visits to the Mbüá Indians of Brazil did I have an opportunity to see an original tambéu; I saw one in Paraguay, at Paso Yovai or Yroỹsĩ. It was worn by the old "Cacique" Pablo Vera: the garment, now in my possession, measures 36 centimeters wide by 124 centimeters long, without the fringes. [286] [177] In all the Brazilian villages, as far as I could verify it, the cloth, formerly made by hand, has now been replaced by cotton of industrial origin, although the majority of the old women still know how to weave it. At Itariri the men wore a tambéu under the trousers. -- In Paraguay, I was told, the Mbüá women make ponchos of cotton.

[192] The female Mbüá garb, the "true Guaraní skirt," as some women expressed it, is called tupýdjaá. Made from about two meters of cloth, it is folded above the waist or just below the [184] breasts. It has a seam from top to bottom, thus being similar to the tupái of the Kayová, although less full. In the more isolated villages the majority of the women and girls still use the garment, /44/ along with other clothes. At Itariri there were some who wore it under their skirts or dresses of civilized type; I saw an old woman who wore the ancient piece with a blouse, without another [184] skirt over it. In the same village a young Ñandéva woman, through contact with a group of Mbüá who had recently come from Paraguay, adopted the piece (made of artificial silk and less full than it usually is), donning it over her dress when she participated in religious dances. /The note that appears at the end of Ch. III in the original source is given on p. 45 of the translation./

/45/

Chapter IV

Principal Subsistence Activities and Economic Organization

241 Although the Guaraní is incapable of conceiving human life
433 without the joys of hunting and fishing, the basis of his subsistence
178 is furnished him by tillage. Perhaps because of the influence of
224 environmental conditions and, in part, cultural tradition, some
[226] groups of Mbüá, who have large and rich areas of virgin forest at
their disposal, such as those of Xapecó, in whose economy hunting, done principally with nooses and traps /Port. mundéus/, greatly prevails over the tasks of the clearings, are still exceptions to this rule. As far as the others are concerned, however, particularly in the present situation, in which the hunting territories of the different villages are being reduced year by year by the progressive invasion of the white man, the importance of the plantings grows more and more, to the detriment of the supplementary activities (1).

● [177] 1. /In the original source the notes for Ch. IV
[182] appear on pp. 64-65./ But in some villages the
ecological situation between the Indians and the civilized ones is becoming such that the former not only cannot support themselves by the activities of hunting, but also do not possess enough land
241 to build their modest little clearings. Take the
433 case of the village of Panambi, where, in spite of
177 the protests of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios
182 and mine, the Ministério de Agricultura, a few
648 years ago, had the lands of the Kayová divided up
to be distributed to colonists sent to the region. On the other side of the border the Guaraní have the misfortune to find themselves in the territory considered very good for the expansion of coffee cultivation. Under the title of "Compra de terras para o cultivo de café no Paraguai /Purchase of lands for the cultivation of coffee in Paraguay/."

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241 the newspaper O Estado de São Paulo published
433 the following telegram on March 21, 1953:
• 177 "Asunción, 20 (UP) -- The organizers of the
182 'American Agriculture and Coffee Corporation,'
648 with its main office in São Paulo, Brazil, arrived in Paraguay to conclude negotiations for the acquisition of an extensive area of 250,000 hectares located in the border zone with Brazil, south of Mato Grosso. The company will undertake in these lands the cultivation of coffee on a large scale, in this way seconding the initiative of the 'coffee king' of Brazil, Jeremias Lunardelli, who already started his plantations in the same Paraguayan region early this year. The experts regard this region, lying between parallels 21 and 23, as the last reserve of virgin land favorable for the cultivation of coffee in South America." -- What this represents for the Guaraní of those forests need not be explained. It is the final act of a drama that has been going on for centuries.

177 In certain villages on the Paulista coast the economic interaction
439 of the Indian society with foreign populations led to the formation of patterns of commercial exchange, through which the Indian comes into possession of money or objects of industrial origin that nowadays he considers indispensable, because they have long ago been integrated in the culture of the group.

177 The social disorganization that is taking place in the major
182 part of the present-day Guaraní nuclei is perhaps reflected more clearly in the transformations that the economic life is undergoing by virtue of the contact with civilization than in any other sector of the culture.

/46 cont./

171 This is true to such an extent that the annual economic
221 cycle -- which Evans-Pritchard calls the "ecological cycle" (2) --
is basically and primarily a cycle of religious life, a kind of "ecclesiastical year," which accompanies the various subsistence activities, especially the different phases of the cultivation of maize /Port. milho/.

174 It is possible that the intermeshing of the agricultural year
221 with the religious one is linked to the missionary past of the tribe.
241 The celebration in which the ritual gathering of the first maize is
796 done coincides more or less with Christmas, the New Year, and
• 177 Epiphany, and various aspects of the ceremonies, as well as certain ritual implements, justify the hypothesis, which I shall discuss in another work, that in it there is a series of reminiscences from the time of the reductions. Furthermore, it is possible that there may have been partial coincidence between the ancient cultural tradition of the tribe and the socio-religious rhythm introduced by the Jesuits.

241 As a consequence of the polyculture of all the Guaraní groups,
221 the tasks of tilling the soil are distributed throughout the year.
184 Nevertheless there are periods of very intense work in contrast to
others in which there is "more rest."

243 Thus, among the Kayová and the Ñandéva of southern Mato
221 Grosso, the cultivation of maize generally follows the following
[184] calender: in /47/ May, clearing; from May to June, felling the
virgin forest; in August, the burning; from August to October, planting; from March on, the harvesting /Port. quebra/. This is valid for the hard maize, intended for sale. The soft maize, saboró, has already been harvested since the beginning of the year;
244 this is the time of the "new food." For beans (kumandá) there are
221 two planting times. One coincides with that of the maize, the
beans sometimes being planted in the same clearing, "mixed," in order to be harvested in the first half of November. These are the so-called "beans of the waters," a name that alludes to the season

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771 2. /From p. 64 of the original source./
796 Evans-Pritchard, 1940, p. 95.

/47 cont./
244 of the rains, more frequent from November to January. But in
221 December, too, clearings for beans are prepared, followed by
planting in January, cleaning in March, and the harvest in early
April. Rice, too, is harvested in April. The planting of mandioca
is done in May, the cleaning in March of the following year.
[249] Sugar cane is planted in May and harvested a year later. Peanuts
(manduí) are planted in January and harvested in July.

241 In general the time when the work piles up the most is the
464 months of August and September, whereas that of the "new food"
is the one of the least activity in the plantings. But the period
221 of the most intense work in the clearing of the village is also that
of the changa (recompensed work) in the clearings of the fazendeiros
and settlers. And since the changa is one of the few means
[434] available to the Indian to obtain some money, many fall behind
on their own clearings because they are working for money on the
nearby fazendas. It should be mentioned in passing that this is one
of the factors of economic disorganization of all the native groups
of that region, even the most conservative ones. The problem is
[245] aggravated by the changa in the yerbales /stands of yerba maté/,
inasmuch as the harvest of yerba maté for its part goes on for
177 months, from July to October. The impossibility of reconciling the
182 ancient activities with the innovations arising from contact with the
white man, and the inability to substitute the latter for the former
241 without further ado, seem to be the principal causes of the cultural
disintegration and detribalization of the Guaraní groups of southern
Mato Grosso.

243 To the extent that a social and religious calender exists, it is
796 that of maize. There is one annual social concentration because there is
221 only one harvest of maize, which begins with the great celebration
of the ñemongaraí, or, as the Kayová prefer to call it, avatí-
243 mongaraí, "baptism of the maize." Aside from exceptional cases,
221 even the saboró maize, which ripens in three or four months, is
planted at only one time, in contrast to what is done by other
[171] native tribes of America, as in Colombia, who have two annual
harvests of maize (3).

3. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Birket-Smith, 1943, p. 33.

/47 cont./

243 In Guaraní tillage the cultivation of maize assumes an im-
portance incomparably superior to any other vegetal species. /48/
[262] Maize, besides being one of the principal sources of food (par-
[273] ticularly among the Ñandéva and Kayová), constitutes the
[433] principal raw material for the production of chicha (a fermented
beverage) and, moreover, is a product that always finds a
market outside the village.

243 824 The original maize of the Guaraní is the soft maize, known
among the caboclos by the name of saboró. There are those who
call it catetinho, thus giving rise to confusion with the hard cateto.
[437] Since the saboró is not suitable for trading, the Guaraní are shifting
to cultivating at the same time the hard maize, which the Indians
themselves also eat. The latter, which takes six months to ripen,
is generically given the name of tupí, which indicates that it is a
matter of a species of foreign origin, whether from a non-Guaraní
tribe or from the civilized world. The Guaraní are fully aware of
[177] the distinction between the saboró maize as a traditional cultural
[437] element and the hard maize, received from outside in more or
less recent times and impossible to reject once there was the neces-
sity to produce for commerce in order to obtain money. There in-
[773] heres in saboró maize, with its soft kernel, which fructifies from
two to three months and ripens in four, a sacred character; it is
considered the principal gift of the mythical beings called
Djakairá (among the Kayová), and it is also the most suitable for
making chicha. The clearings of soft maize and hard maize are done
separately, and precautions are taken not to mix the seeds; the
kernels of the ears that show signs of crossing are not used for plant-
ing. Both are planted only once a year, between the months of
August and October, beginning the harvest more or less in January,
when the great celebration of the avatí-mongaraí is held.

[184] The names given to the varieties of saboró maize are not uni-
form; they differ from village to village and, even more, from one
[126] subgroup to another. On my travels I collected specimens of some
[114] seven or eight varieties, delivering them, for genetic study, to Pro-
fessor Frederico Brieger of the Escola Superior de Agricultura Luís de
Queirós, of Piracicaba. Some are plants of low growth, for which

/50 cont./
243 may occur, "coming from fly larvae" (djahá djarú ñandé avatí
796 mberúre); when green maize can already be taken (djahá djarú
824 ñandé avatí ñahangá); after the first food is prepared with green
maize (djahá hovasá ñandé avatí djýgué); and, finally, when
the first chicha is made from green maize (djahá djárú kỹvira angá
or djahá djaporahéi kỹvira angáre).

241 In sum, all that has been said with regard to maize is associ-
771 ated with the supernatural world. It is true that there is mention of
corresponding ceremonies too for the other cultivated plants --
mandioca, sweet potatoes, beans, gourd, moranga /Cucurbita
pepo/, tobacco, cotton -- but these seem to be limited to the
"baptism" of the first fruits, a kind of exorcism of the "first
basketful." Every woman puts down her basket, the mynakú, be-
fore the cross that is found in front of the house of the paí, in
order to "baptize" herself and "in order not to have stomach-
aches." This is valid for all the products of the clearings, among
which maize is distinguished because of providing the marks of a
genuine religio-economic calender, to the extent that, as we
have seen, one may almost speak of a "maize religion."

244 In comparison with maize, mandioca is of secondary im-
262 portance in the alimentation of the Guaraní. Nonetheless it is
considered indispensable, especially in the months in which
maize begins to be scarce. It exists at all times of the year and
constitutes a permanent basic food of native cookery. For this
reason, too, it cannot give rise to any social, or at least ceremonial,
[177] rhythm. In the villages of the Paulista coast, mandioca flour, as
a consequence of the contact with the alimentation system of the
caiçara /caboclos of the coast/ and perhaps also by virtue of the
geographic conditions, long ago surpassed maize in importance in
[171] native cookery. One should note in /51/ this respect that mandioca
always seems to have been more important than maize in the Tupí-
Guaraní cultures localized in eastern South America, contrary to
what is noted for the slopes of the Andean Cordillera.

/51 cont./

244 For cooking, of course, one uses the sweet mandioca, or
262 aipim, of considerable consumption in some villages, particularly
Kayová ones. In none of the communities, except the two ancient
[114] ones of the Paulista coast (Itariri and Bananal) have I found the
manufacture of bitter-mandioca flour. And even there the phases
[171] of the process, as well as the whole traffic, were practically
identical with the ones observed in the caiçara population, who
for their part have known mandioca for centuries through the primitive
[177] natives of the coast. And among the present-day Guaraní
there is also an awareness that, at least in part, it is a matter of
knowledge transmitted by the caiçaras in recent times.

Thus, they claim to have been "with the shore people for
252 that," in learning to make manema, as the latter say, or parĩ
[192] kãtĩ (hard flour), according to the hybrid expression of the Guaraní.
To the grated mass that is to yield the parĩ kãtĩ is added mandió
pý, mandioca previously soaked in the river (during four days and
four nights) and then pounded in a mortar; the mixture remains
in the tipitĩ for one night, so that the mandiókuẽra drains off.
The mass is put through a sieve. Afterwards it is put in the flour-
[192] pan /the original text reads forneia-se, "it is put in the oven"
(Port. forno, "oven"), but it is to be noted below that forno refers
to the pan for making flour/, the dry mass being put in little
by little (4).

[171] 4. /From p. 64 of the original source./
It is interesting to compare this technique
with the last one of the three indicated by
Hans Staden for the coastal Tupinambá.
Staden, 1943, pp. 162-163.

[171] But the white flour, parĩ vévé, or, as some say, mandió-kuĩ
[192] morõtĩ (white mandioca powder), is also made by processes
identical to those of the caiçaras.

[462] To the extent that I could be present during the making of
flour, all the work was done by women. But there does not seem
to be a rigid sexual division of labor in this respect. At Itariri I
[114] took a photograph of old Capitão Silvino demonstrating the use
[126] of the grater.

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249 Among the plants cultivated in the villages of southern
Mato Grosso one should mention, even though in passing, the yrukũ
or urucú, a plant that is not native in those lands. The Kayová
386 consider urucú paint sacred, saying that its "abuse" brings on
822 supernatural sanctions. All the ceremonial objects of the Kayová,
[778] including the cross (kurusú) used by the men and the rhythm stick
(takuá) of the women, the little bench (apyká), and the altar
(yvyrá), are rubbed with urucú, after scraping the surface of the
[302] pieces a little in order to set the color better. On the occasion of
ceremonies or for receiving a visit, the Kayová likes to cover his
386 face with a layer of urucú. The paint is used either fresh or
cooked. In the latter case, the seeds are boiled with a little
water, without any other ingredient; the seeds are taken out,
and the mass is boiled until it acquires the consistency of a paste,
a form in which the paint does not harden and is kept for an unlimited
[184] time. The technique of the Ñandéva, according to the
description that I obtained, is the same.

824 Aside from the selection of plants for therapeutical use, which
222 are very numerous, and others for industrial benefits, the Guaraní
explores in an extensive, but not intensive manner the vegetable
resources of his environment with reference to alimentation.

222 Thus, gathering is of secondary importance as a source of
[221] food. Among the exceptions, one can mention the gathering of the
guavira /Campomanesia/ by the Kayová in the open country of
southern Mato Grosso, an activity that every year leads entire bands
of Indians to wander about for weeks in the months of November
and December through the open countryside where they camp under
the open sky. But the interest in the guavira today is already linked
● [177] to acculturation, for its fruit is a source of money: the guavira,
[43] which is wild and abundant, is sold to aguardiente and vinegar
factories.

/53 cont./

263 Many vegetable species are occasionally used in Kayová cooking, such as, for example, a native and uncultivated cará (which is not the cará-do-ar), with a very large bulb.

224 Hunting and capturing animals are part of the Guaraní's daily activities. I have had the opportunity to observe their importance particularly among the Mbüá of Rio Branco. /54/ Every morning a good part of the men leave home, going into the forest "in order to look at the traps." Each man has four, five, or more traps of snares and sticks /Port. jiçara/ in the forest. With snares of flexible branches, pigs, deer, antas, etc. are caught "by the hand" (i.e., by the front leg). The snares for antas are of very thick
223 ropes. To catch macucas and other birds, small snares, ño ĩ, which hold the bird by the leg, are prepared.

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Since the gun (mboká) has become known -- which, by the way, few possess -- the use of arrows, including the guyrá piá (an arrow for birds; blunt in order not to get caught in the trees), is becoming more and more rare. As a consequence of the cultural contacts, it is noted that the technique of making bows and arrows, although continuing to have great economic utility for these Mbüá, has ceased to be bound up with hunting in order to assume commercial interest, because there are always buyers interested in native weapons, even though made without care. The hunter,
[825 however, goes armed with his gun and, having reached the forest, imitates, by whistles, the voices of the macuca, the jacu, the monkey. To call macucas, incidentally, a whistle of industrial origin, "flute to entice macuca" is used. One can see that the acculturative process has fully struck the most genuinely native
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economic preoccupations. But since there are few individuals who possess guns, it is obvious that this aspect of economic acculturation is equivalent, in a certain sense, to a cultural disintegration, creating needs without giving the means to satisfy them.

/56 cont./

436 From the point of view of economic acculturation the Guaraní
829 have an interesting attitude toward money (pirẽ, peráta; pirápirẽ,
177 paper money; among the Ñandéva of Itariri I heard: retsá guatsú,
[192] big eyes, for the large notes, and retsá mirim, little eyes, for the
lesser ones, these expressions being current also in Paraguay).
The value that they attribute to it, which grows with the advance
of acculturation, is often more symbolic than real, seeming to
correspond rather to an imitation of an economic attitude foreign
436 to cultural solicitations. Money exists to be spent; there is no
829 question of husbanding it, and no function in Guaraní culture
177 corresponds to saving it. (Capitão Francisco of Rio Branco once
454 told me that he had saved a lot of coins, but no money in notes,
which, he stated, spoil easily). The awareness of other possibilities for making economies -- through the acquisition of a horse, for example, trading mandioca or other values -- appears only at an acculturative stage after the assimilation of many patterns of the neighboring rural culture. And in this case the possession of these material values already begins to represent a factor of social distinction.

423 The ownership of lands becomes individualized to the extent that it is the individual who cultivates them. Only among the Mbüá of Rio Branco have I found a clearing of collective ownership, a banana grove, and there was thought about developing pig-raising, likewise collectively. The rule in all the subgroups is that the plantings belong to whomever has made them and that the land cultivated by an individual continues to belong to him indefinitely. Dealing with the Txanê /Chane/ and Txiriguâno /Chiriguano/,
423 Erland Nordenskiöld writes: "According to Vocapoy, the chiefs
171 /57/ are the sole owners of the land. Batirayu said that the rights
of ownership of the soil are regulated in such a way that each one cultivates the terrain that he deems good. The land that has already been cultivated is regarded as having an owner, even if it has been lying in reserve and fallow for many years. And the fallow fields themselves are part of the heritage" /translated from the French/ (8).

8. /From p. 64 of the original source./
Nordenskiöld, 1912, p. 201.

/*57 cont.*/

423 [171] Now this explanation given by Batirayu is valid, *ipsis litteris*, for all the Guaraní groups, as far as I have been able to observe them. Any abandoned clearing whatsoever continues to be a "possession" of whomever made it; at Araribá, for instance, I met Indians who considered themselves owners of "possessions" in Bananal, where they had lived many years earlier.

476 178 An unequivocal index of the degree of social disorganization of the majority of Guaraní communities is the progressive abandonment of the patterns of collective work. It is a direct consequence of the individualization of economic preoccupations. On the other hand, the successive intermeshing of the native groups in the regional caboclo economy leads to the re-establishment of the cooperative work, but in a pattern already modified.

121 177 476 829 476 171 Several authors have dealt with investigating the historico-cultural origins of the Brazilian *mutirão* or *puxirão*; there are some among them who grant that there is a confluence of native, Iberic, and African elements in the caboclo institution. It is not suitable to discuss the problem, difficult of solution, here. In any case, one cannot deny the Amerindian filiation of the mutirão, already revealed by the sources of the chronicles, as well as by its own denomination of Tupí-Guaraní origin; for example, *puxirõ* (Kayová), *puxirũ* (Mbũá), *apatxirũ* (Tapirapé). Among the Ñandéva of Araribá I was given the name *añomoóña* as the designation for mutirão. Among the tribes of this linguistic family, the collective work of clearing seems to have been quite generalized. But Brazilian tribes of other classifications, such as the Bakairí /Bacairi/ (9),

9. /From p. 64 of the original source./
This is what is understood, for instance,
from the description given by Max Schmidt,
1905, pp. 102-103.

also know or knew institutions of this type.

/59 cont./

476 • 177 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Ñandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Ñandéva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões; the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

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476 In many nuclei quite influenced by caboclo culture, the
491 maintenance and cleaning of the roads is also done in the form of
collective work. If the chief of the village has enough prestige,
•177 he calls the men together for "help": in the opposite case there
is "concurrence" among the inhabitants. Each one takes his
lunch -- or not. -- In contrast to the puxirões properly speaking,
this form of collective work is certainly not linked to any institution inherent in the traditional culture.

476 The transformations of the primitive conditions of life by the
contact with Western society of capitalist type has caused new
177 forms of co-operative work to appear. Thus, among the Mbüá
463 of Rio Branco, who furnish native artifacts to the tourists and
439 visitors to the bathing places, any individual may set himself
up as a kind of contractor or economic director, calling or inviting his companions to work with him for one or more days in the making of bows, arrows, canes, small swords, and other things. The contractor sells the products in Santos, São Vicente, or São Paulo, distributing part of the profit preferably in the form of purchased food, among those who helped him.

476 In the Mbüá puxirões to which reference was made in the
last passage above there is also common cooking, each con-
574 tributing to it according to his possibilities. A man or a woman
from the group is in charge of the preparation of the food. The
women do not take part in the puxirão, but participate in the
476 joint repast. To organize the puxirão, six to twelve liters of
drink are purchased. Before breakfast one or two liters "flow,"
574 at two o'clock another similar quantity, once more at four and
273 at six (before having dinner), and the rest at night. To buy the
drink they make a "society": anyone who has money gives.

All this in the puxirões of collective interest. For those
476 that are organized for particular clearings we saw that the owner
574 provides food for the whole group: he buys a fattened pig and
[262] drink at the nearby fazenda or village. As for the women, "who
only work with the hoe," they also have puxirões (among the
Mbüá), "but they do not slaughter /61/ a fattened pig." It does
not seem to be a matter of a puxirão properly speaking, but

/81 cont./

177 Economic acculturation proceeds not only in accordance
178 with the necessity of facing new exigencies, arising from contact
433 with civilization, but also as a more or less direct consequence
of the loss or transformation of the old patterns or institutions or even of material conditions, which makes the old economy impractical, forcing a search for new solutions.

156 The most decisive change being manifested in this domain
177 perhaps is the recognition, even though slow, of the economic
178 efficiency of the individual as a factor of social distinction. It
433 is a more or less direct consequence of the disintegration of the
old great-family as the unit of production and consumption, leading to economic individualization, a consequence of the need to find a substitute criterion for the traditional social stratification based on religious experience and, lastly, of the effort to overcome the motives of discrimination on the part of the civilized inhabitants, who tend to stigmatize the sylvicolist as indolent by nature and economically incapable. Thus economic efficiency assumes social value in a double sense: as a source of prestige within the community itself and as a resource for self-affirmation in the face of foreign elements.

177 Even for such reasons of a specifically social order, if there
178 were no others, it would be obvious that the acculturative process
181 /82/ could not fail to lead to an increasing individualization of
433 the economic activities. On the other hand, however, this transformation does not take place without causing serious disturbances in the whole culture, in the adaptive system as well as in the integrative one. The major difficulty consists in the lack of mental equipment suitable for the individualist economy. Besides a notion of work adequate for the new form of economic life, the Guarani lacks a minimum of foresight, as well as a notion of the correspondence of values in commercial transactions (hence the impossibility of dealing with money). Certainly, obstacles of this order perhaps exist in all the native tribes and perhaps even in all the primitive villages obliged to replace in a short time the ancient communitarian economy of the co-operative type with the individualist system of the Western world. But there would certainly

/62 cont./

177 be few tribes in which the incapacity to develop an economic
178 spirit with the notion of profit and a corresponding finalist think-
181 ing is as marked as among the Guaraní, simply because of the
profound religious mysticism that shapes the mind and tends to
433 give an emotional and sentimental stamp to all of their attitudes, instead of giving them rational criteria for the application of
[156] practical norms in their relations with other human beings. From the psychological point of view, economic acculturation is only (so it seems) to be realized in an integral way from the time that the individual succeeds in looking at his economic efficiency as a criterion for evaluating his own personality and not only as a source of prestige and social distinction. In sum, from the time that one may say that the ancient ideal of life has been replaced by another one.

177
178
43 In any case, the economic acculturation of the Guaraní has received a decisive impulse from the necessity of obtaining money in order to come into the possession of so many things that the traditional culture is unable to provide and that can only be purchased with money. For the Guaraní the fact of needing money is the only stimulus tending to make him break out of the closed circle of the activities of production and consumption of the local group and integrate himself in the larger sphere of the regional economy. This integration takes place through activities unknown until then to Guaraní culture: recompensed work on the nearby fazendas and estates; exploration of the surrounding environment for commercial purposes (extraction of palmitos, hides, orchids, parrots, etc.); trading artifacts of a manufacture based on techniques in part traditional, in part new (brooms, baskets, bows and arrows); sale of agricultural products; and, finally, begging expeditions to the urban centers. As these /63/ activities become generalized, the economy loses its tribal character, failing to be closed and self-sufficient.

178
433 For the time being, however, this is only a matter of activities that are either sporadic or executed to satisfy immediate needs. Many elements of the traditional economy exist beside them. For example, the collective clearings, collective

/63 cont./
178 hunting and fishing expeditions (binding the great-families), the
433 institution of the great-family in turn as an economic community
(sometimes congregating several elementary families into a unit
of production and consumption), the collective ownership of the
hunting areas and the lands of tillage, and, above all, the almost
complete absence of intragroup commerce, except in the matter
of the exchange of services. All this means that the individual is
[156] not recognized as an autonomous economic agent within the tribal
[182] community. And, when it occurs, this last step takes place with
detribalization itself, that is, it represents the final phase of the
existence of the group.

177 The economic acculturation of the Guaraní appears the
433 more difficult the more it proceeds dissociated from correspond-
648 ing transformations in other spheres, becoming the cause of
cultural unleveling. In this respect the constant complaints of
the officials of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios are significant,
as they are engaged in imposing on the sylvicolists, in the interest
of the latter, so many "economic matrices," without their being
in a situation to integrate them satisfactorily into their system
of patterns of behavior. Disillusioned, the official in charge of
a post in southern Mato Grosso told me: "The Kayová do not want
to produce anything; they lack the necessary sense." At his post
he had tried for more than fifteen years to stimulate individual
production for trade, a matter that did not make any sense to the
Indians. In a nearby nucleus, also of Kayová, more positive re-
sults were achieved with a system of collective production of yerba
maté. To promote the economic "progress" of the Ñandéva at
another post the Government ordered, years ago, established
coffee-plantations to be handed over to the different families;
[156] in a short while everything was left abandoned. These and other
examples show the difficulty for the Guaraní in detaching the
individual from the economic community and coming to consider
him as an agent himself with interests that are individual and in
part perhaps contrary to those of the group; finally, the reluctance
000 to adopt a pattern of intragroup economic competition. /The
notes for Chapter IV appear on pp. 64-65 in the original source,
with Ills. VI-IX inserted between p. 64 and p. 65. Page 66 is
blank./

/68 cont./

524 Among the rare games that do not reproduce adult
155 activities there can be mentioned simple swings of guaimbé
fastened in a U shape to some horizontal branch (Mbüá of
524 Itariri). But even in this respect acculturation makes itself
177 felt: the child -- perhaps attracted by the ideal that Western
155 civilization represents, in part consciously, in part unconsciously, for the Guaraní -- begins to become interested in the games that symbolize technical progress and movement, like our city child. In the village of Rio Branco a boy makes a little airplane with the help of a taquara propeller, a cigarette package (body of the airplane), and the wax of wild bees. Another uses a calender sheet as propeller. At Araribá a Ñandéva boy builds a little truck, using a rough piece of wood and two empty spools of thread. -- These examples show that the Guaraní child
[156] is already using his own inventive spirit for the satisfaction of play activities formerly nonexistent in the traditional culture, activities that constitute innovation in the sense of representing not simply a reflection of the culture of the adults, but civilizatory elements whose significance stems from an acculturative ideal.

861 The extraordinary respect for personality and individual
155 will, from the most tender childhood, makes the educative
157 process, in the sense of repression, practically impossible. In
the opinion of the Guaraní the tendencies of the child are nothing
[828] more than manifestations of its innate nature. A Mbüá of Xapecó used to make straw cigarettes for his two-year-old son, who, in his opinion, had been born "addicted." If on the one hand, such a form of treatment favors attitudes of boldness, independence, and autonomy in the child's personality, on the other hand it seems probable that it also accounts, at least in part, for the excessive extravagance tied to a sentimentalism that in the eyes of the occidental would be classified as morbid. In /69/ childhood the Guaraní does not learn, so to speak, to control himself and to go against his inclinations and his temperament; as an adult, he is constantly complaining about everything. And as the notion of repentance is almost inconceivable to him, he always tends to look for the cause of his sufferings in someone else and never in himself. It is clear that such a form of personality

/69 cont./
861 aggravates in a way the effects of cultural disintegration, as
155 well as other manifestations stemming from the situation of
157 marginality.

856 To the extent that the adult concerns himself with the
development of the child, his interference is directed almost
exclusively toward growth and physical well-being. The re-
[846] strictions to which the father submits in the couvade and before
that bear above all on the physical well-being of the newborn
856 baby. The magic means that are put into practice during child-
789 hood are of a therapeutical and prophylactic nature. To avoid
825 having toads form in the baby's mouth, there is hung around its
neck a small cloth with seven "little toads" (probably tadpoles).
[177] Such usage, observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá and prob-
ably of caboclo origin, is analogous to that of tying around each
leg of the child a string with miçangas /not italicized in the
original/ and rings from the leg of a saracura bird, "in order to
learn to walk fast" (Mbüá of Rio Branco). As we have seen
856 earlier, the Ñandéva of Bananal told me about the cold morn-
178 ing bath to which "the ancient ones" subjected the children, so
515 that they would grow up strong, a practice now abandoned.
856 Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha I saw a baby, of male sex, with
789 a bracelet of embira provided with a knot: I was told that it was
a matter of "sympathy, in order to remain strong": obviously
[171] the reader will not fail to note the anology with the "muquira"
used on the wrist by our caboclo to make the arm strong. --
856 Finally, touching upon physical existence, the children are con-
stantly surrounded by magical protection and stimuli.

828 Regarding the soul, that is, the psychic and moral in-
856 dividuality, there are some practices of magico-educative treat-
ment, but of secondary importance. The soul is born already
finished, or at least with certain qualities virtually, so to speak,
embryonic. In general, therefore, no attempt is made to force
the development of the psychic nature. There are few magical
remedies developed by the culture in order to influence the forma-
tion of the personality of the immature. Among the Guaraní
of Dourados (both Kayová and Ñandéva, according to the in-
formation of Marçal de Souza), the parents of the newborn baby

/71 cont./
858 adult, has long since been participating in all the collective
775 prayers and ceremonies? And, finally, how could there be
828 soil for the development of a well-differentiated childish culture?

524 The number of the Guaraní child's toys pertaining to the
[178] old tribal culture is small. Among the Kayová and the Ñandéva
[192] of Dourados I observed a shuttlecock made with maize leaves,
which the former called mangá and the latter mbopé. At
[177] Jacareí I saw children playing with a toy top of cuia /a clay
[192] cup/, with a caraguatá string; the only denomination they
gave the object was trompo, which seems to indicate that they
received it from their Paraguayan neighbors. The game of
[192] "marbles" or gude /not italicized in the original/, likewise
[824] played by the boys of that village, is known only by the name
of bolita; since they had no marbles, the children used macaúba
fruits (mbokadjá).

86 Generally, however, these manifestations of a culture
specifically childish are minimal in view of the participation
868 of the child in the cultural patterns of the adults. In the more
177 acculturated groups, where the latter already play the guitar
/Port. violão/ and enjoy themselves with sertaneja /typical of
the interior of the country/ or even carnival music, it happens that
a father will buy for his six or /72/ seven-year-old son a
cavaquinho /a small guitar-like instrument/, on which the latter
867 will then try to play the tunes he is accustomed to hearing. On
the other hand, the children learn the sung prayers early, not
only by dint of constantly attending the religious ceremonies,
and participating in them, but also because these prayers are
often used as lullabies, as I have observed among the Nandéva
of Itariri, where, as among the Mbũá, I also saw little children
a few years old sing them alone.

829 The attitude toward education changes visibly with the
87 advance of the acculturative process, which introduces a new
177 ideal of culture and previously unknown social aspirations.
Particularly the Ñandéva of the São Paulo coast sometimes
showed a marked preoccupation with the problems of instruction,
stemming from a manifest desire to appear more civilized. One

/72 cont./
829 couple lived for three or four years in São Vicente, solely in
87 order that their son could keep company with the scholastic
• 177 group there. In order to earn his livelihood, the boy then sold
bows and arrows in Guarujá and other places sought by bathers
or tourists. Since, however, school is not an institution integrated
into the tribal culture, the desire for civilization is not
always concreted in regular attendance at the establishment of
learning, even when there is a possibility for it. The official
in charge of the Pôsto Indígena Curt Nimuendajú at Araribá complained
about the Guaraní who sent the children to school at the
post only on those days on which clothing and food were distributed.
[171] It is to be noted in passing that similar complaints were not made
with reference to the Terêno of the same village: their children
were diligent, and they made satisfactory progress. The cause
[171] may lie in the more practical and positive orientation of the
Terêno, who at that same post, by the way, attained an economic
efficiency incomparably superior to that of the Guaraní.

861 The social organization of the Guaraní is based on the
[596] great-family. According to Linton (3),

3. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, p. 142.

the child who grew up in this type of family learns not to fix or
focus its emotions or expectations of reward and punishment on a
few or certain persons. Various adults are in a position to reward
and to punish. What one does not do, another may do. -- As an
15 adult, too, the Guaraní has little emotional stability. He does
not know romantic love, he flirts about in amorous relations and
easily breaks up his marriage, leaving the child with his wife, in
order to join another woman, facts that, incidentally, are aggravated
with social disorganization. Similarly, he is not capable,
in general, of very prolonged hatreds or a /73/ grudging attitude.
Today he is quarreling with a neighbor, tomorrow he is talking
and having fun with him again, or goes to ask him for a few
beans or a box of matches. Some time ago the Indians of Itariri
had a very ugly fight at the local station; they tore out the poles

/73 cont./
15 of the fence, furiously advancing against one another. A few
minutes later they were all sitting together in a group, laughing,
talking, and joking. The anger had dissipated like smoke.

15 It is appropriate here too to mention Linton's observation
861 that in societies in which the children are forced to obey their
121 parents vigorously, as adults they become persons not very
866 independent and always wanting an authority that will guide
them, there even being extreme cases where it is necessary to
educate some few individuals selected to become leaders (4).

4. /From p. 84 of the original source./
Linton, 1945, pp. 141-142.

15
[861] Among the Guaraní, whose repressive education is almost
[866] nonexistent, a strong sense of discipline and authority does not
[622] develop. Anyone may become chief, so long as he feels the
necessary supernatural vocation; in general self-imposed and
[787] spontaneous practices suffice to establish the magic qualities
[621] and to obtain religious inspiration. Each family chief is or may
become the chief of a band. The idea of an organized govern-
[642] ment of a state type quite clearly exists, but only in the abstract
• [177] field, within the religious ritual and mythology, surely a remi-
niscence of the ancient organization of the Jesuit state. The
156 officials of the S.P.I. /Serviço de Proteção aos Índios/ are
157 unanimous in their complaints about the difficulty of subjecting
177 the Guaraní to the norms of the Serviço. Without being violent, --
648 on the contrary, they are whiners --, these Indians always find
[245] a way to get around the regulations. At Araribá, as we have
seen, there has been an attempt to fit the Guaraní into the
economic-administrative system of the post, coffee plantations
already built being given to them. In a few years everything
was ruined. The Guaraní does not know how to administer a
156 coffee plantation. He has no work discipline, which no one
157 taught him in his childhood. And the chief toward whom his
554 notions of authority converge is primarily a religious chief --
622 ñanderú, kind as a father, a spiritual leader who wants to take
his "subjects" to the paradise of the civilizer hero. The authority
that goes with the post is even considered a disagreeable burden by

/74 cont./

584 Among the Kayová, marriage was more a problem of the
two families, who arranged it beforehand, imposing it on the
young people: in this subgroup, by the way, it is a little earlier
than in the other two. Nowadays many suitors already make their
[583] will prevail. People tell of examples, even though they are iso-
lated ones, in which the young man abducted the bride, when
she is unable to overcome her parents' resistance. Repression of
[177] this "abuse" has been undertaken by the officials of the Serviço de
Proteção aos Índios.

583 Among the Mbũá the initiative for the amorous life is
taken by the boy. There is a sort of trial marriage: many men
have a "companion" (*txeirũ kuñã vae*) before marriage. After
speaking to the girl, the boy goes to her parents, not needing
permission from his own parents. He takes his companion to the
paternal home, where he lives with her for a while and where
she cooks together with the boy's mother. If there is a child
from these relations and if they "hit it off," that is, if there is
[584] accord, they discuss marriage. The lad gathers up his courage
and asks the father of the girl for his permission, while she asks
the mother of the boy. Among the Mbũá of Xapecó, I was told
[585] that the *ñanderú* officiates at the marriage, which is commemo-
[622] rated with a dance. The trial marriage -- I do not know what its
583 /75/ frequency is -- is characterized by two important traits:
591 first, by the patrilocality, and, in the second place, by the
absence of defined economic duties. Only with a definitive
[585] union does the couple go on to have its own home, coming to
constitute a partially independent group of production and con-
sumption. It is important to note that the boy obtains his liberty
[593] early, while the girl practically remains tied to her family of
origin to the end of her life.

582 They marry early: among the Kayová and Mbũá the
184 woman at about 14 years of age, the man a little later: among
the Ñandéva, the woman at about 16, the man at 17 or 18.
836 Kayová and Ñandéva forbid premarital relations, while the Mbũá,
184 as we have seen, institutionalize them. The Kayová aver that
825 jaguars preferably eat the children of unmarried women and
848 adulteresses.
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/76 cont./

585 no one married before having his lip pierced. Nowadays the
178 Kayová is like a beast, because he does not know the system of
[581] the old people nor that of the civilized ones." According to the
[304] same informant, there formerly existed among the Kayová a
[829] marriage ceremony, which was not conducted by the ñanderú or
paí (contrary to what Marçal de Souza told me), nor by the capitão
of the village, but by a married couple, that is, by a married
man and his wife; the man took the boy by the arm, the woman
the girl, they were joined and they were considered married.
Such a practice, which has disappeared today and about which I
have not been able to obtain any detailed data, very probably
originated in post-Columbian times; the couple that performs
the ceremony reminds one of the "witnesses" or "godparents"
of a marriage at the time of the mission. What is certain is that
today among the Kayová the marriage is performed in an informal
manner by the capitão of the village, who decides whether the
claimants shall or shall not consider themselves married.

585 In bygone times the Kayová used to commemorate a mar-
178 riage with a chicha; nowadays they content themselves at least
273 in certain villages, with "a dance of Paraguayan type," at the
574 bride's home and given by her family. The whole village is in-
[177] vited for the entertainment, food being offered to those who
[535] appear, and rum being drunk in place of chicha. Gifts are not
[431] given to the bride and groom.

A curious combination of traditional elements with others
585 of recent adoption is observed among the Ñandéva of Araribá.
182 It is clearly seen there how marriage ceremonies become inte-
[177] grated in the /77/ tribal culture to the extent that it preserved
characteristics that would permit such integration. The institu-
tion of marriage has been adopted by the community; it is
concluded according to what one may call "traditional ceremonial
584 techniques." I have not attended any marriage; I owe the
[585] description to old Capitão Maneco, Poýdjú. This is his statement:
[114] There is not much wooing. In general the young man goes to the
[115] girl's parents, asking for their consent to marry. They ask for
the opinion of their daughter. Then the parents of both agree

584 /77 cont./ Then the parents of both agree
with the bride and groom and with the ñanderu on the day of the
[192] oñomomendá, or marriage, a celebration for which one does not
585 use the name ñemongaraí (1). The ñanderú performs the mar-
192 riage ceremony in the oỳguatsú (house of religious celebrations) at
[622] dusk. Relatives and friends attend; the men take their mbaraká
and the women go provided with takuá. Men and women who
have djeatsaá also take them. The bridegroom must have
djeatsaá and mbaraká; the bride, djeatsaá and (a)kanguaá
(diadem of feathers from the toucan, peacock /Port. pavão,
probably the curassow/, crow -- even from domestic birds) and
585 takuá. Two or three candles of wax from wild bees are lighted,
[622] and everyone sings and dances. During the ceremony the ñanderú
blows on the breasts of the bride and groom; then he passes both
hands over the head and bodies of both the bride and groom.
Following this, they drink maize cauim made by the women
(the bride may help in making it); they also drink honey of
[608] wild bees; sometimes they also take food. At the ceremony
there are two couples of godparents; one for the bridegroom,
the other one for the bride. Anybody may be chosen for this
[533] purpose. At home, then, the celebration of the marriage is held,
[177] in which there is dancing to the music of the civilized. Lacking
any other instrument, they make a flute of taquara (mimbý). --
585 Besides the ceremony in the oỳguatsú, obligatory for all married
177 couples, there is also the marriage in the Catholic church, which
[192] takes place after the first one and to which not all submit; the
[608] godparents that act in it are not Indians, but civilized persons
who have friendly relations with the couple getting married.
The marriage in the Catholic church is followed by a celebration
at the home of the bride's father, as is the custom also among
[608] the civilized people of the region. Some also marry at the
registry office, with civilized godparents, "so that they will not
mock the Indians."

/78 cont./

837 black or mulatto who lived at the post, told me that, after resisting for a while, she yielded to seduction because she liked
[177] him. The woman's stepfather took a knife to kill the man, perhaps in obedience to the caboclo pattern.

581 Given the precariousness of the matrimonial unions, mar-
[178] riage does not today constitute a factor of incisive importance in the lives of many Kayová. At Dourados, where there were even
[177] men who changed women from one chicha to another, the situation is tending to improve through the influence of the Christian
586 mission that works among the Indians of the post. In the separation of a Kayová couple, the children, whether male or female, usually stay with the mother, as well as the house and the clearing, even though made by the husband. There are cases in which a mother, falling in love with another man, starts to mistreat the children, who constitute a kind of obstacle, inasmuch as the man does not like to take a woman with the children of someone else. It is to be noted in passing that mothers surpass the fathers in rigor in punishing the children. Fights between spouses are caused by alcoholism, jealousy, and the economic incapacity of the /79/ husband. Kayová women not infrequently decide to leave a lazy husband; when a man leaves the woman, it is generally because he has fallen in love with another.

178 It is clear that such a state of affairs will not fail to have
581 profound repercussions in the existence of the whole community,
596 since the Guaraní social structure is essentially based on the relations that govern family life. The rhythm of social disorganiza-
586 tion is a function of the sphacelation of the primitive great-family. And in many groups of the present day the great-family can no longer exist because of the simple fact that the existence of the elementary family itself is precarious. By its very nature the great-family requires stability of the matrimonial bonds; otherwise, there is not a member large enough to constitute it, particularly since, in the case of divorce, the children -- especially among the Kayová -- preferably stay with the mother, the great-family, on the other hand, being based on the exercise of paternal authority. The example of one of the few great-families that has

59 /80 cont./ But at the time
241 of the djakairápéký, the "green maize," the first crops of the
[612] clearings of not only the kindred, but the whole village are
[192] "baptized" together in the great-house. In turn, each of the
[574] elementary families of the house of Chiquinho contributes for
the chicha, and, according to the "Kayová system," the
"guests" who come to take part in the celebration are taken
to the clearings in order to offer them some of what is there.
[606] The /81/ sons-in-law, says Chiquinho, work in his clearings,
but the chief, in turn, helps in the clearings of his sons-in-law.
[433] On the occasion of my last visit to the village, in 1950, Paí
[114] Chiquinho's clearing yielded about 1,400 hands of maize (1
hand -- 15 bundles of 4 ears); that of his son, about 300, and
[476] that of each son-in-law as much again. The disproportion
stemmed less from the services rendered by the sons-in-law than
from the puxirões /co-operative work parties/ that the chief
of the kindred had held on the occasion of the chicha celebra-
592 tions. -- In Paí Chiquinho's house each couple has its own kitchen;
but when one of the elementary families has something special
in the pot -- beef, for instance -- it is customary to send small
pieces to all the others.

867 From an early age the children of both sexes help their
parents, whether in the clearing or in the domestic work. The
girls, for example, carry water and care for their smaller
brothers and sisters, while the boys work in the clearing or take
home the products that are needed.

462 It is not long before one of the characteristic traits of the
situation of the adults, at least in the villages of southern Mato
Grosso, appears in the economic behavior of the children. It
[177] refers to the sexual division of labor within the family, quite
transformed, incidentally, as a consequence of the acculturative
effects of the contacts. The woman does not practice earning
money, whereas for the man his capacity for work and production
is a source of pecuniary means nowadays considered indispensable
for the existence of the group. The children's attitudes already
857 conform to this distinction. From eight to ten years old, more or
868 less, the boy passes through a period of what might be called an

/83/

59 of the new family, which after a few months manages to build
606 its own house, at first in the immediate vicinity of the dwelling
of the father-in-law, and then, as I was told, "farther and farther
away" ...

462 In the majority of the present-day villages the division of
labor between the spouses is not very rigorous. In any case,
everything pertaining to hunting is a matter for the husband, while
the tillage is divided into masculine and feminine activities.
The felling of the trees, the clearing, the preparation of the
ground in general falls to the man; planting, to the woman. Con-
[184] cerning this latter point, I noted, however, that among the
[177] Ñandéva of Dourados it is not the woman who plants; they have
already adopted, as they say, the "system of the civilized."
The harvesting is in part done together, in part a task of the
woman; sometimes the man breaks off the maize, while the
woman carries it home. Apart from exceptions -- on rainy days,
for example -- it is the women who go to root up mandioca.
462 The carrying basket -- adjó (Ñandéva), adjaká (Mbüá), and
415 mynakü (Kayová) (6) --

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6. /From p. 84 of the original source./ Müller (1934-1935) distinguishes three Guaraní "tribes" in the forest region of eastern Paraguay: Mbyá, Chiripá, and Pañ. He states (pp. 180-181) that through the shape of the baskets ergology offers an infallible criterion for distinguishing the three "cultures," one being that of the "adjaká," another that of the "adjó," and, finally, the third one that of the "pynacü." From an analysis of Müller's work it is seen that the "Mbyá" are the same as the ones existing in Brazil (Mbüá), while the "Pañ" would be Kayová -- who, especially in the mythology, know the word pãi with the meaning of companion -- and the "Chiripá" probably Ñandéva. This would

/101 cont./

624 In order to be considered competent, or in order to gain
156 prestige among his subjects, the capitão should be energetic,
[577] have persuasive power over his comrades, not be given to drunkenness,
speak the national idiom, and be skilled and astute in dealing
with the Brazilian authorities. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri
I heard complaints against old Silvino Rufino, whose incapacity
was attributed to the "lack of agreement" in the village; he was
said not to have the energy or sufficient persuasive power to gather
the men to maintain the village road. They accused him of excessive
alcoholism, which gave the community a bad name.
"*Mburuvitxá naiporãi*, the chief is no good because he drinks a
great deal, and his wife too."

622 In the social structure there is no formal obstacle blocking
756 the access of anyone to either the category of prayer-man or doctor-
555 sorcerer. The *status* stems from the religious experience of the individual
himself, and there is no limitation to the number of doctor-sorcerers.
Strictly speaking, every chief of a great-family, or
even of an elementary family, can become the doctor-sorcerer of
his kindred, so long as he has the vocation for such. Nothing
hinders a family from splitting in two, each with its *ñanderú*,
which, incidentally, shows the close relation between the chieftaincy
of the family group and the charismatic authority. There is almost
no danger of any rivalry among the doctor-sorcerers of a village;
the authority of each one goes beyond the ambit of the
family group only to that extent that his prestige allows it. His
power does not rest on a patent conferred by an official of the
Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, but on his religious knowledge,
on his ability to foresee the future, in the exercise of practices
that drive away misfortunes of the present and prevent those of the
future. That is why Pedro Pires said to me: "*Mbaekuaá* is the
prayer-man, for he knows everything."

624 The situation of the village capitão is quite different. The
648 institution did not originate from within Guaraní culture; it was
177 imposed from outside. Even so, however, nowadays important
functions in the life of the group fall to him. The capitão

/101 cont./
624 officially represents the interests of the village in the presence of
648 the Brazilian inhabitants and is at the same time chief of police
177 within the group. It is his duty to re-establish order and to punish
the culprits whenever the social disorganization and the abuse of
alcohol give rise to quarrels and fights within the community.

624 /102/ In general the capitão occupies the office as long
622 as he is not dismissed by the official in charge of the administra-
578 tion of the post. While he must be supported by the powers of the
648 official, the *ñanderú* or *paí* can exert his authority even *against*
177 the one in charge of the post. In spite of the peaceful coexistence
182 of the two powers, the temporal and the spiritual, this state of
affairs thus tends to generate a state of constant social tension,
which is manifested in the relations between the group and the
official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios. Toward the
ñanderú converge manifestations of criticism and discontent
concerning the one in charge, who, in turn, regards the *ñanderú*
as the principal obstacle to the proper completion of his mission.
On the other hand, the capitão is the right hand of the one in
charge and represents, so to speak, the "official" point of view.
To the extent that it falls to him to represent and defend the ma-
terial interests of the group, always threatened by the white man,
and to serve as a connecting bridge between the Indians and the
one in charge, the group indeed can not dispense with his co-
operation. From this emerges the state of tension that shows
clearly that the institution of the capitão or civil chief is not yet
624 integrated in the Guaraní culture. In actuality there are two
622 notions of chieftaincy in virtual conflict: the religious one, es-
182 sentially charismatic at bottom, authority that may extend to the
[554] whole village if the individual's prestige is sufficient for such, but
[596] also may be limited to the family group (there always being the
possibility, as we have seen, of the different family chiefs coming
to an understanding in consultative gatherings for informal discussion,
whenever general interests of the local group are at stake); and
the civil one, in the hands of the capitão a more or less despotic
little chief of the whole village, influencing everything except
what is really essential for the Guaraní, that is, the religious
orientation of the community.

/103 cont./ It is therefore
624 not surprising that many Guaraní do not have a clear idea of the
182 functions that we occidentals attribute to the office of capitão.
829 They fail to seek him out when it would be proper for him to
take energetic measures to re-establish order or to guarantee the
security of the group, and, on the other hand, they run to him
[126] about matters of little importance. I have met Guaraní who refused to be photographed before obtaining formal permission
from the mburuvitxá (or ñanderúvitxá, as the Mbüá also call
him).

62 The political chieftaincy has, as we have seen, a strictly
182 local basis, a jurisdiction that includes all the individuals in the
village, while the religious one is at the same time familial, inasmuch as the followers of the ñanderú are made up of one, two,
or more families constituting a neighborhood group and not necessarily the whole village.

622 Among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who do not have an Indian
624 post, but who like to take trips to the cities that are more or less
177 close, therefore having frequent contacts with civilization, each
182 chief of a family (or of a "trinca," as they say) may, according
184 to the circumstances, assume the responsibilities of mburuvitxá.
[596] While traveling, the family chief is at the same time the "capitão"
[484] of the group that accompanies him. And the individual who wants
[486] to travel asks his family chief for permission. Furthermore, one
notes in this village a kind of division of labor concerning the
functions of the capitão. For external purposes, having need of
contact with representatives of the Government, in order to defend
the rights or interests of the collectivity, /104/ the capitão is
Francisco, who speaks Portuguese quite well. Alcides, who seems
to have been appointed to the position years ago, preferably exercises jurisdiction within the group; he is the one, for example,
who performs marriages in the village. Marcelino, older brother
of Alcides, and certainly the principal prayer-man and director of
religious celebrations, is considered the true chief of Rio Branco;
it is in his house that visitors are given hospitality.

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622 Such a situation shows that the Mbüá do not necessarily tie
624 to any specific person the exercise of the different functions of a
182 civil government, but, in accordance with the tribal mentality,
[596] distribute them among various family chiefs, according to the
needs of the moment and the competence of each one. The religious chieftaincy and the political one tend to coincide there
with the administration of the family group. As we have already
seen, it is proof that the office of capitão is not yet integrated
[177] as an institution in the culture of the tribe. The institution, in
[648] order to be maintained, needs the direct and constant support of
the official of the Serviço de Proteção ao Índios. Where, as in
Rio Branco, there is no official post, there can be no capitão
properly speaking.

624 But at the posts, too, one can observe that the capitão is
156 not considered the supreme authority. He often takes counsel
with the ñanderú in order better to define his attitudes and to
learn what measures should be taken. In any case, his authority
lacks the charismatic basis that is essential for the Guaraní.
[114] When I visited the Mbüá at Xapecó, they had as capitão a fellow
about twenty years old or a little older. But his authority seemed
to be merely nominal. "In order to be cacique," they told me,
"it is necessary to know how to pray" and to be ñanderú or at least
[622] yvyraídjá (cult assistant). The young capitão and his companions
obeyed the ñanderú Dionísio, an old man who had the plan of
migrating with his group to the coast, in order to hasten the departure for the Land without Misfortunes. The capitão of Araribá
[622] is Manequinho or Poýdjú, appointed several decades ago; but the
religious chief, ñanderú Sebastião (now deceased), although he was
almost a stranger, since he had come from Dourados, was the one
who took care of the interests of his comrades.

624 In some villages there are rivalries and even intrigues in
554 order to occupy the office of capitão, this when they can not adopt
[184] the solution of the Mbüá of Rio Branco, who allow several capitães
/plural of capitão/ side by side. The economic advantages of
the office seem to be the main reason for the competition. The
civil chief of the village has greater facility in obtaining gifts
from the official in charge of the post and from strangers, and he

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577 example: João Samuel, a Ñandéva of impulsive character
(Bananal), explains his violent reactions by reason of the "bad
nature" that he says he has, but at the same time he considers
577 himself "a very good person." Human destiny does not depend --
828 except in more or less manifest cases of acculturation -- on
775 moral attributes; in the strict meaning of the term, there are
no sanctions, punishment or condemnation, prize or reward --
what there may be is unhappiness, particularly of the "spirit"
or anguêry of those who die from sorcery -- but at the end of
everything everybody will meet in the Beyond, except in very
special situations. And if there are some who, after death, do
not get the good fortune of heaven /Port. céu, sky, heaven,
firmament/, because of their antisocial or "reproachable" behavior,
it is not their fault, but that of the genius of which they
are the bearers.

771 The attitude of the Guaraní religion confronted with earth-
775 ly life is more negative than positive. For the Christian, life
on earth offers at least the opportunity of being able to earn
heaven, i.e., for the individual to practice virtues upon which
will depend his future lot. The Guaraní does not have to earn
heaven, as everybody is destined for eternal happiness. There
is not tied to it the idea of reward, but simply an ideal that one
tries to attain -- and which everybody does attain, if fate is not
too adverse for him and if, on the way to the Beyond, his soul
does not become a victim of the many dangers that await it on
the journey.

771 /109/ In the face of the fact, certainly unquestionable,
• 177 that the Guaraní groups of today studied by me contains many
797 elements of Christian origin, both with respect to the doctrine
and to the ritual and the accessories of the cult, there is posed
a capital problem, which is that of identifying as much as possi-
ble the direction and the range of the transformations brought by
the missionary work of past centuries. It is of interest to find out
to what extent the Jesuit teachings yielded, undergoing reinter-
pretation in terms of the old tribal doctrine, and to what extent
the Jesuits really succeeded, if they succeeded in any lasting

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771 manner -- in changing the religious mentality of their pupils.
177 Concerning this point, one must not forget the existence of
797 fundamentally irreconcilable, irreducible, and, therefore,
mutually exclusive conceptions in Christianity and in the
Guaraní religion. Among them the most important one perhaps is the connection between the destiny of the soul and the
moral responsibility of the individual. While Christian doctrine is inconceivable without the notion that in the Beyond the
[775] soul will be judged -- and, therefore, rewarded or condemned --
[184] according to guilt or merit, that is to say, according to the
moral value of the actions freely practiced in this life, the
Guaraní religion does not recognize, aside from exceptional
cases (Ñandéva of Jacareí), any direct connection between free
will and post mortem conditions. Furthermore, the Guaraní
181 hates anything whatsoever that he imagines as curtailing his
797 liberty, which he prizes above all (2).
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> 2. /From p. 148 of the original source./ The testimony of Father Müller, who worked among the Guaraní of Monday River, is too significant not to be quoted, at least some passages: "His first and greatest passion consists in absolute liberty and independence, unrestricted by anything in this world or outside of it. Only by force does he recognize any norm for his actions other than his own will. Doing or not doing something depends on his whims, which change every day. (...) Superstitions, mistrust, and horror of anything that might put them in a state of dependence in relation to the Mission kept them from us at first. 'I do not want to learn anything from you, nor do I want to know anything about your way of life; it may be good for you, we shall follow our regime. God made you white and clean, and he made us dirty in order for us to live in the forest in our way and to stay in the forest. I do not want to be taught. I do not want

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> to know about your remedies, nor do I want to know anything about your God or about your baptism. I do not want to live here with you. What do you care whether we are sick and die, that every day we are less numerous? Do not concern yourself about us.' -- This is more or less how they spoke to us, after they had overcome their fear of us and had seen that we were inoffensive. A pleasant remark made to an old idler had the echo: 'Well, if you only want to live with good people, do not come to be with us; this is how we are. If we cannot remain as we are, then we cannot live with you. What is it that you are saying about being good? Well, I do not want to be good.'" Müller, 1919.

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Aside from the opposing points, like what has just been mentioned, there are clearly others at which an approximation between the religious systems becomes possible or even easy on the basis of common elements, similarities or mere analogies. From the sociological point of view, the phenomenon of religious leadership stands out, an aspect in which the organization of the Jesuit state collided with the Guaraní tribal tradition. In the matter of the doctrine properly speaking, however, it would not have been very difficult to remove the contradiction existing between the primitive polytheism and the adventitious monotheism: the different spirits of the tribal religion would correspond, on the one side, to the angels and saints, and, on the other, to the attributes of God presented by the missionary, which would easily be personified, one by one, leading in addition to an unfolding of so many independent divinities: the Creator, the Omniscient, etc. Similarly, the doctrine of the good and bad inclinations of the soul would lead to either an identification with two souls, one good and the other bad, or it would collide with the primitive dualism or pluralism of the human soul. /110/ Today, therefore, one would not always be able to distinguish between phenomena simply of religious convergence and others of direct influence.

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771 It is certain that, because of the different circumstances
182 under which they proceeded, the religious acculturation of the
797 Guaraní at the time of the Missions and that of the present day
177 differ radically from each other. In the former case there really
was a conversion, even though secondarily, after the expulsion
of the Jesuits, the two systems disappearing into a syncretic
whole through the encounter of points of contact (ethos of Christianity as a redemptive religion and the total convergence of
the life of the Guaraní toward the problems of the Beyond),
while in the latter case, because of the absence of systematic
indoctrination, isolated elements were assimilated, without
their religious significance being apprehended at the same time,
for which reason different functions fall to them, whether magical, medicinal, recreational, or of social distinction.

771 One fact which causes no little difficulty for an exact
184 description of the Guaraní religion of the groups now existing in
Brazil, both as regards the doctrine and as regards the ritual,
is the extraordinary variability observed from village to village,
from one doctor-sorcerer to another, even among the representatives of the same group. The systematization of the elements
would, by itself, give rise to an extensive monograph. The
divergences and contradictions, even within this or that subgroup,
this or that village, are so numerous and accentuated in such a
way that it becomes practically impossible to present the tribal
religion in peremptory or "dogmatic" formulations. There seem
to be two causes for this:

First, the individual, or better, individualistic character
771 of the Guaraní religion. Outstanding though the social importance
781 of the religious ceremonies and, conversely, the religious significance of the principal manifestations of the community existence
184 may be, one must never underestimate the extraordinary role of
the individual religious experience, for under any circumstances
a person may come in contact with the supernatural, receiving
consolation, advice, and revelations from the divinities, or the
protector-spirits, that is, each one has his own religious experiences, according to the character and mystical inclinations of his
personality.

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771 184 personality. Thus, in the course of the years he forms -- obviously on the common doctrinal foundation -- his own conception of the world, his interpretive system, with more or less "heterodox" innovations or "aberrations," according to his personal tendencies and experiences. According to León Cadogan, who encountered similar difficulties in his research /111/ among the Mbyá of Paraguay, there is a notable rigidity and uniformity in the conjunction of the private, secret doctrines of the doctor-sorcerers, while the public religious representations are subject to great variation.

[177] [521] Secondly, the multiplicity of ideas and beliefs should be interpreted in terms of incongruences stemming from contacts with the Christian religion, on the one hand, and from the fusion of the different subgroup doctrines produced by the migrations, which have led to the formation of villages in which are gathered together, in the same community of cult and life, families of two or even so far as the three subgroups.

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2. The theory of conception and reincarnation and the notion of soul

According to Guaraní doctrine, the nature of the human soul is sufficient by itself to make the individual not only fit for the religious life, but also to lead him to the destiny that falls to him. The idea of the human soul, as the Guaraní conceives it -- that is, his primitive Psychology -- constitutes without any doubt the key indispensable for a comprehension of the whole religious system, for which reason it merits special attention in this work.

774 142 On the other hand, the notion of soul becomes comprehensible with greater facility starting from the beliefs concerning conception.

The ideas concerning the connection existing between conception and sexual relations are obscure. In any case the former [771] is attributed above anything else to supernatural causes, being realized for the Ñandéva preferably by way of the dream, an explanation which, by the way, is also accepted by aborigines of

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77 And it contributes, finally, to the mystical identification of
842 the earthly humanity with the celestial one -- i.e., the
184 tavýterĩ --, the constant theme of the religious songs of the Kayová. Through conception the celestial children (tavytera) are incarnated, sent by the civilizer hero Paí Kuará, and come mainly from a region of the firmament, the yvakáýtétĩ, located in the direction of the southwest. The child that dies returns to the yvakáýtétĩ; it may be reincarnated, being reborn by the same mother, if the family grieves greatly over the death of the little one. Adults, however, do not return to earth, nor would they want to. (This principally according to explanations
[833] by Paí Tomás of Dourados.) As for sexual relations, they are thought of, so I have heard, as a coadjutant factor, not always strictly indispensable for conception.

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115 With the exception of two Ñandéva doctor-sorcerers, Fernando and Hilário, from the village of Jacareí, and perhaps one or another Kayová, all the experts on Guaraní doctrine with whom I worked admitted as certain the plurality of the human soul. Those two specialists, however, insisted peremptorily that man has only one soul, ñanéneĩ (guẽ), which is in the chest. Perhaps they were closer to the ideas that were dominant in pre-Jesuit times.

774 The most characteristic doctrine is that of the Ñandéva, for whom, aside from the exceptions mentioned, the soul is composed of several units, two or more in number, but in any case belonging to two basic categories, the spiritual tendencies, on the one hand, and the vital and instinctive ones on the other hand. The
[771] pluralist concept of the soul is obviously not peculiar to the Guaraní and much less to the Ñandéva subgroup, for it has been reported innumerable times among South American native tribes.
774 But the reduction of this plurality to an opposition between the
• 179 spiritual manifestations and the vital tendencies of the individual
777 seems to constitute an exceptional case, which may perhaps be accounted for by the /115/ Jesuit catechism. True, the missionaries did not teach the Guaraní that a man is the bearer of two souls, but the idea of good and bad inclinations in constant opposition and struggle within each one, plus the moral demand

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774 that passions be overcome by prayer and by the practice of the
177 virtues, might easily lead the Indian to personify the two forces
797 or tendencies, taking them as entities, in analogy, by the way, to the way in which the personification of the different forces of nature is the cause of the plurality of the gods in the tribal
774 theogony of these and other Indians. In the psychological conception of the Ñandéva one is dealing in the final analysis with the struggle between good and evil, transferred into the psychic life of each man: one good soul, of divine origin, which after death goes to heaven /Port. céu/, and another one, which will become bad or dangerous, all the worse and more dangerous the more the individual has let himself be led by his anti-social inclinations during his life. This in spite of the contradiction with ideas presented pages ago.

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822 The fact that some Ñandéva talk about three souls instead of two seems not to have much importance. It is because the souls are visible in the form of shadows, ñané ĩ, our shadow, of three different sizes. One falls in front or behind, one to the right, the other to the left. The one that falls in front or behind (ayvú-kué-porãvé) is the one that after death goes to heaven properly speaking (yváy), located above the yvỹñomimbyré (or mythical paradise); the one on the left remains wandering over the ground, goes to live in the cemetery, is "bad" and is called anguéry (in life, atsỹyguá); the one on the right remains wandering about in the air, "is better and does not do harm to anyone" (Ñandeva Sebastião). It is called ayvú(kué) /sic/ (7).

7. /From p. 130 of the original source./ Pojújú explained to me that the soul-shadow on the right is called ohãñe ĩ vaé, being a bearer of illness to anyone who meets it after the death of the individual. Afterwards Sebastião contradicted him energetically, saying that "this being is produced right here on earth; it is not the soul of a person, it is the [illegible] /see p. 381 f./." Pojújú accepted the rectification.

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795 oó dyvý yvýmarendápý. It only goes about in those places where the body went when alive. During the day the anguéry "does not go about."

/117/ Poýdjú told me there are two kinds of anguéry, some like a phantom in human form, others like a hairless dog (10),

[825] [1126] 10. /From p. 151 of the original source./ By the way, the animals also have anguéry, as is seen from a myth entitled mboré-odjépotá, which I had an opportunity to collect at Araribá.

weeping and crying like a child, and both of which are the "shade" /Port. "assombração"/ of someone who has died. Sometimes one hears the anguéry speak with a human voice, sometimes one hears it weeping, but no one is seen. According [184] to Poýdjú, the anguéry goes about at night and at midday, an opinion that I have also found among the Ñandéva of the coast.

A constant preoccupation of every Guaraní, no matter what subgroup he belongs to, is the fear of coming in contact with some anguéry. When a family has to walk in the forest at night, the children walk in front. "I am afraid," said old Ermelina, "there are anguéry"; that is also why she does not [753] let the children go "that way." Every anguéry does harm: it [761] brings sickness and sometimes, as we have seen, death. It can [755] be made to withdraw to another place by means of prayers: Ñanderykeý is asked to make it go away; this, among the Ñandéva. Therefore, a religious recourse and not magical.

The anguéry, desperately roaming about the forest, feared by all, reminds one of "shades" and "troubled souls" at the same time. But it is not a "condemned" soul in the proper sense of the word, but simply an extremely unhappy one. Aside from ex- 795 828 177 ceptional cases, it would be difficult for the Ñandéva to arrive at the idea of considering the "wicked spirit" (as we would perhaps say) responsible for his fate. All the more significant are

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775 the exceptions, as represented by the ideas of old Pedro Pires
828 of Itariri, who, although professing the religion of his ancestors,
177 has already been greatly influenced by contact with the Christian population of the Paulista coast. He told me the following: "Anguêry is the soul of people, of sinners, who have not had salvation; they stay in the world as a shade, making 'faces' /Port. 'visages'/. Those that are without sin, their spirit goes to stay at the feet of Ñanderuvuçú, who is God. Nothing stays here in this world, or if anything stays, it is very little. This little that stays may also be a little troublesome, it is a little soul" (sic!). These are words that show very well the direction in which the
774 transformation of the ancient ideas is taking place. There has
178 already been lost the notion of a plurality of the human soul, which is still alive in almost the totality of the Indians of the
[828] tribe. Even so, for Pedro Pires too, the substance of the soul is divided into a good part and a bad part, the latter developing in the course of the earthly existence of the individual, in accordance with the reprovable acts that he practices. It is as though there were a pure portion and another impure one not deserving of heaven.

775 In one more essential point the anguêry differs from our "wicked spirit": bad intentions do not affect it, and for its part there is no desire to bring about the perdition of anyone at all. /118/ It is not a Mephisto, but rather a "poor devil" who perhaps even feels sorry about the harm that he causes. Thus it resembles, as I have already indicated, the "troubled soul" that suffers in purgatory, deserving the compassion of those who live here on this world.

[776] The relations that the divine part of the soul of the deceased maintain with the surviving companions are analogous to those that bind the protector spirits ([illegible]) to their protected
[777] ones. It appears in dreams to the members of the family, brings them prayers, gives them good advice, and even, as we have just seen, is able to give them the children that will be born or reborn in the family.

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782 to dictate some more of his prayers himself. He did it, so he
26 explained, in the certainty that they would "return" to him
828 afterwards. The attitude of Paí Tomás with regard to the recording machine on which I had recorded some songs sung /126/ by him was similar: "Now the machine is going to take my
782 prayers." This reminds one of the Ñandéva expression that the
[776] protector spirit *brings* (not: teaches) the prayer to the individual.
[787] It is easy to see that the *porahêi* is taken both as force and as
[424] *substance*, which can be bound to a person and, in a way, detach itself from him. Thus also the fact that it is likewise suit-
782 able for magical actions. Among the prayers of the Kayová
789 there is one that is used to kill harmful animals. It clears away foxes, ocelots, opossums, and other enemies of the poultry house: it is so strong, they told me, that it succeeds in killing the dogs in the house. This example also shows that the idea of *porahêi* or "prayer" is not always necessarily limited to the domain of religious experiences: its use may be transformed simply into a technique of magic. Like other cultures, that of the Guaraní tends finally to confuse the two spheres -- religion and magic -- although they are based, as we know, on two fundamentally opposite attitudes of the human spirit.

782 One final observation with reference to the function of the
829 prayers. Comparing, from the point of view of social disorganization, the explanations given in one village and another concerning the evils that afflict the world and the dangers that hover over it, there is a significant difference in that the groups of greater cohesion and relative social economy attribute the fault to foreigners, while those of greater dynamism seek it in their own midst. The former turn to ethnocentric arguments, such as, for example, the Ñandéva of Jacareí, who told me that the world is going badly nowadays because the white people are not very religious: that to pray, to praise God, the Guaraní does not have a set day, Sunday, but praises him (*Ñembaeté*) every day: that to him all the dances are religious, unlike the white man, who has
7 "dances that are even sinful." The assimilation of foreign con-
182 cepts into tribal culture is thus put in the service of the traditional
17 [illegible].

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753 Among the South American Indians the most common
754 opinion about the origin of sickness is the one that bad individ-
171 uals, particularly sorcerers from a foreign tribe or even from
among their own people, abuse their faculties and extraordinary
powers in order to make an object or substance responsible for
the illness, the quid malignum, enter the body of another. This
753 theory is also accepted by the Guaraní, among whom, however,
754 it is not exclusive, but exists side by side with other etiologies
proceeding directly from the religious doctrines.

In any case, among the Guaraní too the belief that sick-
nesses, at least the majority of them, are explained by the bad
intentions of knowledgeable persons and bearers of magic re-
753 sources predominates. Thus the appearance of an epidemic or
571 even of a series of cases of sickness in the same village and in
578 a short space of time can cause important social consequences,
generate distrust, misunderstanding, or even open enmities and
fights within the local group, putting into action disruptive
forces of social life existing in a latent state. It is even possible
to state that the mystical sense of solidarity, which, although it
does not unite the whole tribe and not always the individuals of
a certain horde, makes the populations of the different villages
cohesive, rarely suffers dissolution of continuity, except for the
atmosphere of insecurity and discontent that dominates all in
situations of this nature. /128/ This is a supposition made, of
[82] course, concerning villages that do not already find themselves
[177] in a state of open social disorganization through continuous contact
with civilization. After the epidemic is past, there is no delay
in re-establishing the normal equilibrium, and the authority of
the doctor-sorcerer, who has used the magic and religious re-
sources, or that of the capitão, who has made use of his police
authority in order to normalize the situation by fighting the op-
posing forces, then is subject to considerable increment.

754 One of the disruptive forces most characteristic of Guaraní
157 society is the constant suspicion of practices of black magic within
the group. There is not much exaggeration in the statement that

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753 121 [182] [177] It is well known that the phenomenon of cultural disintegration, as the product of interethnic contacts, is manifested, among other things, by the parallel acceptance of two or more solutions for the same problem, of various concommitant elements with the same function, it falling on the individual from case to case to decide in favor of this one or that one. It is in relation to sicknesses and to their treatment that such a state of affairs is revealed with special clarity in Guaraní life. This perhaps primarily because of the focalization, more and more accentuated, that the sickness, real or imaginary, comes to have in the Guaraní mind, undoubtedly in consequence of a psychic flight before an unsatisfactory reality, the fruit of a state of constant frustration. And as the traditional patterns of the culture do not offer elements considered sufficient for facing the problem thus created, there is also recourse to others of foreign derivation. The ideas about the ontology and etiology of the sicknesses, as well as about the methods of cure, thus cease to constitute an integrated whole, but form a conjunction of disparate elements, so to speak. The culture seems to lose one of its primordial functions up to a certain point, that of providing the group and the particular individuals with the resources for sure and satisfactory control over phenomena that go beyond the simple biological reaction. Ideas, beliefs, and explanations of diverse origins, and arising in cultural contexts of different types, strike against one another in the minds of these poor people, producing a mental state /131/ of insecurity and

753 159 121 sometimes almost of despair. Capitão Bessa, former chief of the village of Bananal, suffered from malaria (without, of course, identifying the illness) and thought the ailment was due to physiological disturbances caused in a "natural" manner by some quid malignum, which in some form or other had penetrated his body. [754] His mother settled on the hypothesis of black magic practiced by some personal enemy with the help of a picture that had fallen into his hands. [177] For his part, Samuel, brother of the sick man, was more inclined to believe in the

121 /131 cont./
753 possibility of "some spirit invoked into him," an idea perhaps
159 of Amerindian origin, but possibly reinforced by contact with the
(177) spiritism of the civilized inhabitants of the coast. As it could
[755] not fail to be, the same insecurity is observed in the choice of the methods of cure, magico-medicinal as well as religious, and of the specialists, who are either doctor-sorcerers of the same tribe, or civilized "curers," or even doctors possessing an official diploma.

75 The quid malignum cause of the sickness may be any foreign body or poisonous substance or of another form harmful to health, such as pebbles, seeds, ugly worms, or even fire. If in fact it has entered the body as a consequence of black magic, the doctor-sorcerer does not get to do anything about it until he discovers the one responsible, so as to attack him with countersorcery.
[184] This among the Kayová at least. If, however, the quid malignum entered the body in a natural way, i.e., without there being any unconfessable purposes on the part of ill-intentioned individuals, whether it be by carelessness, by the unfortunate conjunction of adverse circumstances, or by the manifestation of certain deities whose appearance is linked with certain times of the year, the removal can be made either by the technique of the doctor-sorcerer, by the use of appropriate medicines, by means of practices performed by the patient himself, or, finally, with the help of religious ceremonies.

761 753 The attitude of the present-day Guaraní, particularly that of the Ñandéva of the coastal villages, toward sicknesses and death is characterized by a peculiar combination of fatalism and -- though we say it with due reserve -- Christian resignation.
761 753 159 Capitão Benno's daughter was ill: her father took her to Dr. Millião, a physician of São Vicente or Santos, who prescribed a series of remedies for her. But in the end the child died. "It is because she had to die," was Benno's simple explanation. And Benno's mother added: "When a person has to die, treatment is not worth anything; when a person does not have to die, Ñandejára himself carries the person through. When it is

/132 cont./

761 756 being guilty for his own death is admitted, from which, on the other hand, we cannot draw the hasty conclusion that the death of the doctor-sorcerer is due to moral culpability and that, consequently, it is a question of punishment or a penalty comparable, let us say, to the loss of immortality in Paradise because of sin. For it is indeed quite possible and, in my view, probable that nothing more than a simple natural relation of cause and effect is established in the mind of the Guaraní.

761 828 Death, it is convenient to say here, did not come into the world because the ancestors became guilty for one reason or another. It is tied to the very nature of human existence, to the destiny of man. Nevertheless it does not fail to constitute a problem for the /133/ intelligence of the Guaraní. The mythology, it is quite true, solves it easily by means of the efficacious formula of the mythical precedent, experienced a thousand times. Death is a fact, an occurrence that is repeated as a simple episode in the existence of each one of us and which, like everything else that develops in chain fashion, is "explained" by means of the determination of the point of departure. "Ñanderú omanõ (God is the one who gave the origin)," that is, his death is the origin of our death, Paí Chiquinho, the doctor-sorcerer of the Kayová village of Panambi, assured me. "Ñanderú kañinguéra ombó ypý," "the destruction of God is what gave the origin," that is, his death is the origin of our death. God arose for the purpose of dying. -- Great perspicacity is not needed in order to discover that in these phrases there is something of the teachings given by the Jesuit fathers in the seventeenth century. But the doctrine of the death of Christ has become pagan: it has undergone a reinterpretation, in order to be adapted to the Guaraní conception of the world. [177] [797]

The Guaraní has an ambivalent attitude toward death, the roots of which are in the mysticism of the tribal religion. On the one hand, of course, we have the instinctive and very human fear of death, responsible, among other things, for the existence of special prayers to ward off the danger of approaching death.

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764 Guaraní subgroups, bit also among the Kaingáng /Caingang/ of
178 the Rio Grande do Sul). The burial takes place on the day im-
184 mediately after the dath, it falling to the ñanderú to plant the
[171] cross and to direct the ceremonies, which are repeated next to
[756] the grave for several ays, to the sounds of the mbaraká and the
[534] takuapú. The same ceremonies are performed on the occasion
of the death of children.

764 The Ñandéva oiBananal, perhaps the most acculturated
177 ones, take their dead o the public cemeteries of Peruíbe and
178 Itanhaém: they bury hem in a box made out of boards covered
with cloth, and abovethe grove they set a cross; on the other
hand, the dead personis lowered into the grave with the "devo-
tion" (djeataná, religius ornament) on the body, an indication
(even if there were nothers) that these acculturative phenomena
do not correspond to te radical religious transformation that they
would seem to reveal t first sight. Quite the contrary, the fact
[775] that they transport ther dead companion a distance of many
leagues goes along ver well with the fear of the angüery that the
Guaraní have.

768 In the south of Mato Grosso the Ñandéva remember having
[764] had among them the interment inside the dwelling: they aban-
[178] doned the house, withut burning it, and went to live at some
distance away: today sch a practice is no longer observed.

Concerning the Kayová, I have been unable to learn whether in bygone times they made graves inside the houses; but even today many abandon or burn the dwelling in which someone from the family, be it adult or child, has died. At the Pôsto Indígena Francisco Horta, one of my informants ([illegible]) left his house, building another one some distance, because in the old one "many children died"; perhaps the explanation was based on the idea that the house [illegible] noxious substances.

764 In general, a Guaraní interment follows in part traditional
177 usages, in part more or less Christian customs coming from the
178 neighboring populationwith whom the Indians come in contact.

/137 cont./

768 775 [428] continue to be the property of his mboguá, which is the reason that nobody can inherit them. The mboguá would come to look for the one who tried to appropriate them. Pablo Vera of Yroysá confessed that sometimes an old man keeps the objects of the dead man, because he will die within a short time anyway.

764 In the Kayová cemeteries, to the extent that I am familiar with them, the graves are very close to one another. The burial is done in hammocks, the grave being "seven spans" deep (Capitão Alberto). It is also customary to leave on the grave the pole used to carry the hammock with the deceased. In general, the burial takes place on the day immediately following the death (18).

[766] 18. /From p. 152 of the original source./ An extraordinary case, reported by the former administrator of the P. I. Benjamim Constant, is that of an Indian woman attacked by wildfire, who, there not being any cure, was buried still alive: a very deep grave was dug, so that she would not get out.

765 177 [191] In spite of the resistance of the individuals more averse to innovations, the younger Kayová generation of the Mato Grosso villages,has adopted the so-called "wake of the cross," a week after the death of children or youths. It is a feast, common in Paraguay and among the caboclos of the southern Mato Grosso region, which is held in the house of mourning, extending far into the night: guitar music accompanying songs in Guaraní ("Paraguayan polkas"), dancing (principally when it is a matter of a child), and fireworks, all moistened with a great deal to drink. The cross, accompanied by burning candles, is kept in the house until the feast is finished; on the following day, in the morning, everybody goes to the cemetery, planting it on the grave. This usage is based on the belief, current in the neighboring Paraguayan population and analogous to ideas of the Guaraní [775] [777]

/137 cont./

765 religion, that the child, when it dies, becomes a "little angel"
177 and goes directly to heaven; thus there is no reason for grief or
[775] sadness. Capitão Alberto of Amambai told me: "A wake is no
[171] good, for the people make merry; this is not the Indian way, all
[829] should go sadly to the cemetery to take the deceased." In any
case I have the impression that the feast of the "wake of the cross"
among the Kayová is not accompanied by acculturation that is
properly religious: what interests the Indian is the recreational
aspect and the socializing. -- At the only burial that I had an op-
764 portunity to observe -- that of a dead child at Amambai -- one
[114] could indeed see that the members of the family were sad, but,
on the other hand, there were no manifestation of mourning what-
soever. And more than once I have been told -- contrary to
what V. D. Watson states (19) --

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19. /From p. 132 of the original source./
V. D. Watson, 1944, p. 40.

that it is always like this: very little weeping and no /138/ crying
764 out. Furthermore the Kayová say that they originally buried the dead,
178 whether children or adults, without a funeral ceremony of any kind
-- a statement not very likely, however. In any case, for the chil-
[182] dren they knew prayers of "sad remembrance," sung either on the
day of the death or at a later time.

764 Like so many other religions, that of the Guaraní in its di-
775 verse modalities, offers to the faithful the hope of seeing the dead
beings again in the Beyond. To this is linked the usage of burying
the dead in a recumbent position, with the feet toward the east,
"so that the spirit will find the path of the sun" (Capitão Alberto).
Actually, it is a case of setting out for the yvý marã ey, the
mythical paradise of the Guaraní, which many believe to be lo-
cated in the direction of the east. According to Marçal's ex-
[773] planation, the journey of the dead to the Land without Evil will be
made shortly before the destruction of the world, which will be a
victim of fire.

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5. The direction of the religious acculturation

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There is no doubt but that the main obstacle to Guaraní acculturation is the extraordinary attachment to the tribal religious system. The problem of acceptance or rejection of foreign elements takes place in the domain of holiness, and the sense of loyalty to the group's social heritage tends, therefore, to be translated into genuinely religious attitudes. On the other hand, the frustrations of religious life, like those of magic, are in general explained as a consequence of the acceptance of alien elements that endanger the efficacy of the rites and ceremonies. They are looked upon almost as a profanation. If the practices intended to produce rain or good weather have no effect and if, in spite of all the efforts and lengthy exercises, the day of departure for the Land without Evil does not come, it is because the "force" of the one who prays, or doctor-sorcerer, is diminishing. It is because he has had a great deal to drink, has eaten a great deal of pork fat and other foreign foods, has taken part in some dance of caboclos or caiçaras, or even that he had the weakness of attending a game of football.

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It is understandable that such explanations appear mostly in the Ñandéva and Mbüá groups of the Paulist coast, who, by virtue of the frequent contacts and even living together with foreign people, feel more and more, in all the aspects of their lives, the disastrous effects of social disorganization. Above all, the Ñandéva of Bananal and of Itariri, in the phase of detribalization that they are going through, are wrestling with the problem of loyalty to the modes of life of the ancestors.

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/139/ For outward effect, however, these and other Guaraní, such as those of Araribá, consider themselves Christians. To the indiscreet visitor interested in knowing what religion he professes, the Ñandéva responds promptly: "All the Guaraní are Catholics." In order to avoid criticisms on the part of the white populations, he subjects himself to a certain number of Christian practices which he neither understands nor wants to understand. The Capuchin mission that existed in the large settlement of Itaporanga in the last century does not seem to have had very long-lasting effects.

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771 177 178 797 Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children baptized and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptized" at the mongaraí, or moétendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the ñanderú, "and then, so that the civilized people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptized in the church," according to the words of old Poýdjú of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized in the Catholic church. [829] In Poýdjú's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilized: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilized ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

771 85 792 177 178 608 The acceptance of the Catholic baptism, common among the Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbüá of Rio Branco, also goes along with economic interests. A civilized godparent is chosen, who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child. At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly: Constância, daughter of Capitão Silvino [illegible], had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

563 177 178 771 It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who marries an Indian woman, particularly the caipira, not only usually demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

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563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestizo children. He himself baptizes the
children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile,
as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate
into the Guaraní culture in this manner are seen modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing: it is a simple
gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbüá
[184] of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambí ad Dourados, where
the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles
and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent
to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
[182] all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
customs of the tribe. In 1946 there was an attempt to hold a
[578] *mongaraí*, which, however, because of dissension and lack of co-
operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, and Campeador
178 Gregório called in, a *caipira* /this word is capitalized in the
159 original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pay a mass" at the
"tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes wilderness/ of the
deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Itanhaém to Bananal,
Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Araçá,
[775] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death,
the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente,
had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 50
cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part
from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a
glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity.
There were Indians in the village, such as masters of prayer,

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771 Eugênio, who could have had the duty of conducting the prayers
177 according to the tribal system. But perhaps there was no possi-
178 bility of arriving at an understanding. Eugênio, for example, did
[159] not live in good relations with the family of Arnaldo, who years
earlier had disputed with him the post of capitão of the village. Thus the social disorganization opens the way for religious acculturation. While the decision to "have a mass prayed" according to Catholic or caboclo rites is not important, of course, in the sacrifice of the old beliefs, it nevertheless prepares the ground for their replacement.

771 /141/ A very significant fact is that the Catholic elements
776 accepted with great facility are those that refer to the cult of the
177 saints as it is known among the neighboring rural populations.
77 Images or prints of saints are not rare in the Ñandéva houses. At
177 Bananal a young Ñandéva opened a small store or "xiboca" in
[44] his house, but since movement was very slow, he gave up the
[273] business and changed the counter into an altar, decorating it with
wax candles and images of saints put in a niche; he was careful not to take a drink within sight of the images, so as not to be disrespectful and not to strip them of their "forces." In the house of João Samuel, a Ñandéva who had lived for some years in São Vicente, there was a small altar with many images of saints. He had "bartered" with a "santeiro" /a "saint man"/, a dealer in re-
[43] ligious articles, for them. (Images of saints are not "bought" or
"sold," but are "bartered for" by means of money, a chicken, or
anything else.) On João Samuel's altar there was an image of Santo Onofre, who "makes many miracles, but one must give him a little glass of water or water with wine, so he will not run away." There was a little church with the Good Jesus of Pirapora; before it the housewoner put a small coin as "promise." At one side, Santo Antônio, "with his little son." And other saints. João Samuel used to light a candle for all, and sometimes he would put on the altar, in order to make it more effective, the medicine that someone in his household had to take.

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776 João Samuel has special sympathy for São Gonçalo, a
796 music-playing and fun-loving saint. He told me that sometimes
789 the Guaraní perform the dance of São Gonçalo. When it rains a
782 great deal during a puxirão /co-operative work party/, a "promise"
159 is made in order for him to stop the rain. "The first tune is his,
the guitar player has to sing his tune first, the saint is in the middle of the table, between two flowers. An old man and an old woman come, dancing, to kiss the saint three times. Then his tune ends. He is then taken away and put in his place on the little altar. And the fun goes on." At a puxirão in Bananal, when they made the "promise," São Gonçalo performed the miracle of stopping the rain.

159 Although he actually professes the tribal religion, João
533 Samuel prides himself in being a "tocador de viola" guitar player,
776 as his father was: and "to be a guitar player" is to venerate the
771 saints. On a certain occasion a "believer," the son of Da.
Lâmpada, appeared in João Samuel's house: he was angry about the images and told him to "stop worshiping these saints of clay, of paper, and of cardboard." Before such an insinuation, which seemed offensive to him, João Samuel invoked the fact that his father had already been a guitar player and "already had some prayers of his own in that religion."

771 /142/ The Guaraní, particularly in the case of old individ-
778 uals, does not always refer without inhibitions to the Christian or
177 pseudo-Christian representations and practices adopted in more
159 or less recent times. In Pojɨčjú's house there was an image of
São Bosco, if I am not mistaken, but it was said to be São José; in the room of the married granddaughter there was a small oratory with a crucifix and other images of saints. The images were all provided with a djuatimá made of sewing thread and in front of them were put small coins to prevent illness. Pojɨčjú did not like it when reference was made to these things and even seemed somewhat ashamed of them. And for the granddaughter the devotional value, if it existed (as perhaps could be inferred from the djuatimá), was in any case insignificant in comparison to the magical function of the crucifix and the images.

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771 Finally, everything seems to indicate that the more or less
776 magical aspect of the cult of the saints, such as is known and
177 practiced by the majority of caboclos, is the only one really assimilated by the Guaraní, and by preference by the younger generations. Furthermore, it seems that the "saint" is nothing beyond the image; nothing indicates the belief in a spirit or supernatural being that is not inherent in the material substratum of the image itself.

771 In spite of this, it is necessary to recognize that the Guaraní
177 religion has also been subjected to the influence of genuinely Christian concepts. Particularly in those sectors, it is clear, in which the prior religious experience already created an atmosphere favorable to the adoption of these concepts, i.e., situations in which these correspond to a need of the group.

771 Thus, the notion of the "sinner" and the correlated ideas
783 of responsibility and culpability, formerly nonexistent or at least
177 of little importance in the body of the collective representations
178 of the group, have easily become established among the Ñandéva of the Paulista coast, for example, because of the need to explain or rationalize the frustration experienced over the inefficiency of the prayers and ceremonies for going to the Land without Evil. Not having any element in the tribal doctrine capable of explaining this inefficiency, there was a psychic need to which the Christian concept of the guilty sinner corresponded admirably. Old Pedro Pires, with an air of resignation, told me: "Ñanderuvutsú is a pure angel and we are sinners, and as a result we cannot
[829] reach him." And he explained: "Later everyone in the world will be equal, and in heaven too everyone is equal. But we cannot reach heaven, because we are all sinners."

But it should be emphasized that the idea of "being a sinner," besides being taken first only in a collective sense ("we are all /143/ sinners"), had to be reinterpreted in terms of earlier experiences in order to be integrated in the Guaraní mentality. "To be a sinner" could not, obviously, refer to bigamy or to disrespect for any of the Mosaic commandment. The significance of the term had to follow from their own experience, from

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783 a subjective state favorable to what it came to correspond to.
771 This subjective state was the consciousness that the phenomena of
177 social disorganization, creating greater and greater difficulties
178 and sometimes endangering the very survival of the collectivity,
resulted from the fact of already not living rigorously according
to the traditional patterns. The retrospective view of the well-organized
group life of the past, in contrast with the crisis of the
present, favored the acceptance of the idea of sin or of moral
guilt, which could be established with relative ease because it
meets the need to have the frustration explained. Furthermore,
there was a formal element favorable to this adoption: the
analogy or correspondence between the inefficiency of the rites
and the Christian doctrine that a sinner cannot enter heaven.

771 In its original form the Guaraní religion does not know
775 *post mortem* punishment or eternal condemnation, one of the
177 reasons, together with the attitude based on the belief in reincarnation
(peculiar to the Ñandéva subgroup), that there is no
motive for terror or despair before the final point of death. True,
the *anguêry*, into which the *atsýyguá* is transformed, is unhappy;
but, aside from this not being in consequence of any culpability,
it is not properly the *person* of the deceased. The latter, represented
by the *ayvúkuê*, finds its redemption (and it is around
the idea of redemption that all of Guaraní religiosity gravitates)
through rebirth or, in definitive form, through *aguydjê*, i.e., the
journey to the Land without Evil. But the adoption of the Chris-
[783] tian idea of "sin," inevitably tied to that individual culpability,
tends to shake this belief. Thus, old Silvino Rufino, capitão of
the Ñandéva of Itariri, after explaining to me his opinion that
in the end everybody will find the path to heaven, was careful to
add by way of exception: "Only those who have sinned too much
go to hell."

Even so, going to hell does not always necessarily stem
from reprovable acts practiced by the individual. Among the
[184] Ñandéva of Dourados, the only Guaraní group that already is not
so intent in one way or another on the myth of the Land without
Evil, I found representations very elucidative in this respect and

775 /143 cont./
771 which, according to the information of Marçal, also occur among
177 the Kayová of that village. Sometimes, when during thunderstorms
184 the clouds are driven in a certain direction by the wind,
775 they think they hear a /144/ kind of bubbling, which is attributed
776 to the boiling of the pot of the devil (añã). The devil catches the
[821] souls, throwing them alive into a big pot, where he boils them
in order then to eat them, perhaps a reminiscence of anthropophagy.
Every soul of the dead runs the risk of ending up in dishes
775 of the devil. As an educational means in order to prevent the
misfortune, children are never allowed to go over a net /Port.
776 rêde, net, hammock/ extended in the hut, but only underneath it.
869 This is because, after death, on the road to the other world, every
784 soul must go through the realm of añã. Besides the "condemned"
souls, the devil also wants to catch the "innocent ones." He has
hung a series of nets transversely across the path of the souls; anyone
who tries to go over them runs the danger of slipping and
possibly being seized. It is important, therefore, to breed in the
children the habit of always going under the nets, throwing it back
775 over their shoulders. This prescription then is primarily a measure
of prudence and not a moral prohibition. And the belief in the
776 pot of the devil, although taken perhaps from medieval Christianity,
177 has been deftly combined with the "obstacle course" that the
[182] Ñandéva and Kayová mythology requires of every soul of the dead.

But there is no doubt that the Christian concepts are gaining ground. There are those who talk about the judgment of the soul by añã, saying that the latter makes it jump over a net in order to see whether it slips and therefore to discover whether it is guilty or not. One of the gravest faults revealed by the ordeal is disrespect or disobedience toward the parents. This is already clearly not a matter of ability, but of guilt. The distinction between good and evil is assumed.

771 It is not difficult either to perceive that the Guaraní religion,
177 when it is exposed to constant comparison with the Christian
178 doctrine and, especially, to the criticisms of the "nationals" or
the "civilized," little by little stops being taken by its adepts as an

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771 evident and absolutely indisputable thing. At least in some
177 cases the religious disintegration has already reached the system
178 of beliefs, creating the psychic need to support the faith by
[182] rational arguments. While, for example, a Kayová Indian of
[184] Panambi would never think of discussing the truth of his doctrine,
in front of his comrades or even strangers, because it does not
constitute a problem for him, numerous others assume a very different attitude. Poýdjú, who, perhaps without knowing it, is
very preoccupied with contradictions between the Christian
teachings and those of the ancestors, more than once has called
my attention to facts taken to be extraordinary and which, in his
view, prove that the Guaraní religion is the true one. One exam-
[669] ple: In 1932 the Indians of Araribá were called upon to participate
in the Revolução Constitucionalista /Constitutionalist Revolution/.
[787] Popóýdjú, Poýdjú's son, /145/ had not yet received his prayer;
he received it a few days before his departure and that very night
he had in a dream "information" that he could go without fear,
because nothing would happen to him and all would return safe
and sound. That was what happened.

771 The representatives of the civilized world, attending any
796 ceremonies of the native religion, in the majority of the cases
177 cannot refrain from jocular observations or even ingenuous at-
829 tempts at Christian indoctrination. The first reaction of the
Guaraní is not to allow the whites to attend their religious ceremonies. Nowadays the most zealous ones in this respect are the
[184] Mbüá; during the visits I made among them, only two doctor-
[123] sorcerers of this subgroup (Itariri and Xapecó) were not reluctant
to do prayers and ceremonial dances in my presence and even
permitted my participation; all the others adamantly refused to
do any demonstrations of this sort during my stay in the village.
It was all the more strange that Alcides, one of the chiefs of the
village of Rio Branco, told me once that he intended to go to
Rio de Janeiro in order to promote in the carioca /inhabitant of
Rio de Janeiro/ carnival a ñemongaraí, with an exhibition of all
ritual equipment. It is also said of the Kayová that they formerly

/145 cont./

771 refrained from having a porahêi when there was some white man
796 in the vicinity, and even nowadays the kunumí piêta, the pierc-
● 177 ing of the lips of the boys, is done with the rigorous exclusion of
829 any foreigners (although, as we know, for a different reason).
[782] Concerning the common prayers, however, at present the Kayová
[154] already do not show the least inhibition before white spectators;
on the contrary, one notes in them a certain degree of exhibitionism, whose psychological reasons seem to be the need for compensation: constantly scorned by the white man, who ridicules their tribal customs, they accentuate these aspects in living with the white man, in order to overcome the feeling of inferiority that seizes them before a stranger.

771 One of the factors responsible for the infiltration of new ele-
177 ments in the religious system of this or that subgroup is that fami-
178 lies belonging to two of them or to all three live together in the
[621] same village. The doctrinal and ritual discrepancies open the way
for the infiltration of alien ideas, above all Christian ones, which the Indians become acquainted with during their numerous peregrinations and trips and other forms of contact with caboclo people.

771 A curious example of intratribal religious acculturation, the
177 exchange of elements between individuals of one subgroup and
159 another, is that of the Indian Pascoal, a rootless Ñandéva from
156 "somewhere" on the Paraguayan border, whom I had met in 1949
among the Kayová of Amambai /146/ and who a year later lived as a curer in the post of Dourados, enjoying great prestige and counting numerous customers among Indians and caboclos. His ambivalent attitude before the Kayová was significant: on the one hand he accentuated what distinguished him, and, on the other hand, he tried to give his explanations in terms of the Kayová religion and social organization. Furthermore, he established a connection between native concepts and those of the rural Catholicism of the region and other elements of the civilized world.

/146 cont./

771 A guest of the Kayová, Pascoal very naturally uses the
159 names of their gods in place of those of the deities of his group.
184 On the other hand, he is already too old to replace the ritual behavior
[574] learned in childhood, for which reason he cannot participate
in the ceremonies of the Kayová, some of whom, however,
/147/ hold him in quite high esteem and appear in his yard once
in a while to dance and pray in homage to him. And when he insists
[571] on the importance attributed to the social relationship established
[608] outside the family ties between compadre and the godson,
he certainly is not referring, although he says so, to the Kayová,
among whom, in contrast to the Ñandéva, the institution of the
godparent does not seem to exist. Detached from any religious
community, and lacking, therefore, the intensification of the
religious experiences obtained by participation in collective ceremonies,
Pascoal insists more on the magical aspect of rites and religious
equipment. While the Ñandéva of the coast call the
djeatsaá "my devotion," he calls it "protection," just as, among
them, old Pedro Pires does when he refers to the little cedar cross
that hangs on his chest. The ceremonies of the "sabedor" on the
occasion of a "baptism tend to be explained as magical practices,
as is done in the rural Catholicism of the region. Pascoal, by
[178] the way, has skillfully combined the latter with the doctrine of
his ancestors: the yvyraídjá, protector spirit, is identified with
the Guardian Angel; the soul of the newborn baby becomes the
"little angel"; and if the soul of the deceased person is "lost," if
it does not find the road that leads to the Beyond, it is because
the priest failed to pray for its salvation.

771 In conclusion: If it is true that religion constitutes the
177 nucleus of resistance of the Guaraní culture confronted with disintegrative
178 forces, this does not signify absolutely that acculturation
is not observed in this domain. The latter, however, proceeds
in a slower way and in various, perhaps three, relatively distinct
phases. In the first one, religious elements of foreign origin are
accepted, being integrated in the cultural configuration, not with a

/147 cont./
771 religious significance and function, but given a magical, medicinal,
177 or even economic stamp. In the second phase, religious
178 elements are accepted as such, i.e., with reference to the problems of the supernatural, but reinterpreted in terms of the religious system of the tribe, through the establishment of analogies of form. In the third phase, the final and decisive one, the traditional religious system is shaken in its foundations by the predominance of foreign elements integrated in it. This last phase is hardly reached by any Guaraní community while it maintains a minimum of social cohesion, and by isolated individuals only after their total detribalization (20).

> 20. /From p. 152 of the original source./ On this point see also Schaden, 1955, a work in which are likewise discussed, in a summary way, some other aspects of Guaraní religious acculturation.

771 Undoubtedly contributing to the high degree of resistance of the
781 Guaraní religion, even after the /148/ destruction of a large part
787 of the ties of group solidarity, was the fact that, although highly
182 collective in a good part of its manifestations, it is also an eminently familial and even individual religion, by virtue of the importance attributed to the supernatural experiences and events in the life of the individual for obtaining his ideal of life. /The notes for Ch. VIII appear on pp. 148-152 in the original source./

/153/

Chapter IX

Observations about the Music and the Folklore

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533 The love of the Guaraní for the art of music has been known
797 since Jesuit times. The missionaries have made good use of it in
177 the work of catechizing. On the other hand, the poverty of musi-
534 cal instruments integrated into the tribal culture, some of them
simply rhythm markers, is surprising.

The most important ones are the gourd rattle, or *mbaraká*,
and the rhythm sticks, or *takuá(pú)*, used in all the religious
[184] ceremonies. In the three subgroups of the tribe, the men mark time
for the religious dances and prayers with the *mbaraká*, while the
women accompany them with the *takuapú*. In only one village,
534 in Itariri, did I participate in religious dances, directed by a
723 Mbüá *ñanderú* who replaced the gourd *mbaraká* (or also
796 *mbaraká i*) with a guitar of industrial origin (*yvyrá mbaraká* or
177 simply *mbaraká*), which is known in other villages only for play-
[533] ing secular music. The *ñanderú* referred to only struck the strings
to mark the rhythm. The ceremonial use of the maraca by the
534 men and of the rhythm stick by the women is one of the many
171 signs of unity that link the Guaraní to Chaco cultures. It even
seems that all the Guaraní musical instruments are found in the
Chaco and farther west (1).

1. /The notes for Ch. IX are given on p. 160 in the original source./ The study by Nordenskiöld, 1919, pp. 164 to 183, is elucidative in this respect. Concerning the rhythm sticks, see Métraux, 1927 and 1928a, pp. 215-216.

534 As an instrument characteristic of the Mbüá, the *mbarimbáu*,
a monochord that consists of a bow measuring almost a meter in
length, provided with a string made of four or five threads of line,
merits mention: one of the ends is placed in the mouth: one blows
with variable intensity and plays the string with the fingers. The
bucal cavity itself acts as resonance box. An instrument also ex-
[171] isting in the Chaco, as well as among the Patagonians and

/154 cont./

534 one is of yrukú ý (considered a male plant, so they told me) or
[824] yvyrá rãkuã ĩ, with a string of pindó ryvĩ (twisted). Without blowing, it is played with the feminine bow (embirekó) on the masculine one (iména) (contrary to the common position in sexual relations). One end of the male bow is placed in the
[533] mouth; the placing of the four fingers of the left hand (from the index finger to the little one) produces the difference in the sounds. The mouth serves as a resonance box. Before playing, the string of the male bow is moistened with the lips.

534 The guyrapá ĩ has its "owner" (spirit), the guyrapá ĩ djáretá
829 (the ending retá, which in general indicates a collective, was
[776] given here as untranslatable). It is used for sexual magic; there is almost always fear of playing it in the presence of women, because they would become "crazy" (overly amorous); to the extent of avoiding their seeing it. According to the information of
[178] Marçal de Souza, the guyrapá ĩ would have been used formerly by the Kayová in the religious feasts, but in view of the "abuse" of the young people, using it "to try out new songs of fun," i.e., the chicha songs, the old people, irritated by the "profanation," stopped using the instrument in their ceremonies. Unfortunately I did not succeed in obtaining more precise data on the matter, interesting perhaps with regard to acculturation.

534 /155/ Acculturation phenomena, with regard to music, is to
533 be observed in almost all the villages. The young people play
177 Paraguayan music and sing "guarânias" and, particularly in the Paulista villages, the latest carnival tunes. To own a good guitar
[554] is a source of great pride; to acquire an accordion is the impossible dream of many youths. Some Kayová boys show the desire to have a guitar or banjo, very cleverly making for themselves miniature guitars provided with sewing thread. Perhaps the taste,
533 the quasi fascination by exotic music and strange melodies should
177 be noted once more in Guaraní history as active forces in the sub-
182 stitution of culture ideals, such as happened with the Jesuits' plain singing of three centuries ago.

/155 cont./

538 182 184 In spite of the variations from subgroup to subgroup, the folklore of the tribe is characterized by a common stock of beliefs and narratives, secular songs, and other elements, which on the one hand attests to its unity, and, on the other hand, makes it fit very well in the conjunction of folkloric traditions that represent the patrimony of the Tupí-Guaraní family.

538 ● 177 In interethnic contact, the folklore appears to be a factor of relatively great cultural permeability. Perhaps it is possible to speak of the greater independence of folklore in comparison with other sectors, with the *corpus mythorum*, for example, much more intermeshed with the context of the culture, especially with reference to the ceremonial. In any case, this aspect of folklore appears to be an important factor of acculturation, as there seems to be no doubt but that, together with the folkloric elements properly speaking, transmitted from one group to the other, there are also implanted, little by little and surreptitiously, more subtle realities regarding the way of interpreting the world, realities that can contribute toward the formation of a new conception of life.

Particularly picturesque is the folkloric syncretism of the groups that have become acquainted with the great world in their migrations, incorporating the most disparate elements to the pre-
538 existent stock. When, more than twenty years ago, the Mbüá of
177 the present village of Rio Branco went to meet the President of
167 the Republic for the purpose of obtaining ocean passage to Portugal,
[648] which they thought was closer to Paradise, the Government decided to send the band to the settlement of Pancas, in Espírito Santo. Some time later, however, they returned to the /156/ Paulista coast, after long peregrinations, during which they also crossed parts of Minas Gerais. Thus they were gathering many new things in their association with the rural population of the
539 areas traversed. Among other things, they told me about *avá*
177 *poĩpẽ*, an "Indian" who lives in the hollow of a rock, who does not have arrows and does not have at his disposal any weapon except his fingernails and a stone with which he strikes, he does not leave the hollow of the rock, does not go into the forest, lives in all the interiors, speaks a very difficult language, is provided with

/156 cont./

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177 a chest of bulletproof steel, does not have joints in his knees, and, when he falls, he does not get up any more. -- In Minas Gerais, they told me, there are people with feet in the shape of the bottom of a bottle and who live only in pairs; when they have many children, they kill them and eat them. They suck the blood of their victims and leave only the skin. They do not leave the forest, are not civilized, and are dark in color, they have a foreign language and are "more wild beasts than people." The Indian Francisco told me he was once called in the forest by such a dangerous being -- he did not know the name, "it may be some curupira" /a mythological figure/ --, but he paid no attention and fled. "Tupã" did not allow anything bad to happen to him. In Minas, he added, the police and hunters set out to kill the bottle-foot, but he sucked the blood out of them (4).

4. /From p. 160 in the original source./ Concerning the bottle-foot, see, for instance, Barroso, 1932, pp. 254-257.

-- Another figure is that of the "bat Indian," with a human foot and light skin; he sees only at night and sucks the blood like the bottle-foot, but he is distinguished from the latter by appearing in groups of many prople.

538 It is not my task here to discuss these and other beliefs, in
167 part well known to our folklorists. I want only to point out that
the circumstance that in their frequent migrations they crossed lands
182 of foreign and, not infrequently, hostile tribes, must have given
the Guaraní a special sensibility regarding this order of components
[829] of the objective spirit. In tribal mythology itself fear and disdain
toward foreign groups are very much alive, and there are frequent
references in common conversation to the "wild Indians," demons
or avá potxý.

/156 cont./

538 In the association of the Guaraní with the caiçaras, the folk-
177 lore takes on local color; they begin to talk a lot about "encanto"
181 /enchantment/, "poço de ouro" /gold mine/, and similar things. From the way in which these representations are referred to, however, one gets the impression that for them the cycle of hidden treasures is not linked preponderantly to any dream of riches, but tends to be reduced to ideas purely mythical, in the broad sense of the word; the economic mirage would be on the second plane.

787 In the same way a number of caboclo (and almost universal)
825 ideas about forboding are widespread among the Guaraní, ideas
[171] that, by the way, have their like or points of contact in the tribal tradition itself. At Bananal it is common to speak of beasts that "forbode evil" for /157/ people. When a poisonous snake -- par-
[753] ticularly a jararacussu or mbói-parádjú -- appears in the house,
[761] it was "sent" by someone in order "to forebode evil" for a person in the family; even without biting, it brings sickness and causes death. A certain cry of the cuckoo is foreboding. Also that of the hen that in the yard seems to imitate the crow of the cock (5).

[171] 5. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is a quite widespread belief. For example: Elsie Clews Parsons recorded it among the Otavalo Indians of Ecuador. "When a hen crows like a cock, a rare phenomenon, it is announcing the death of some member of the family" /quoted in English/ (Parsons, 1945, p. 213). -- "A hen that crows like a cock is a sign of misfortune in the house" (Brandão, 1949, p. 182).

And the rooster that, climbing on the roost, starts to crow at an untimely hour is for his part announcing misfortune or death for a member of the family. In town, commented my friend Bento, the cocks crow at all hours, but there, too, people die at all
825 hours. -- The cock that "divines" the future has even come into
787 Kayová mythology itself, as is seen from a text collected at
773 the post of Icatu (6).

6. /From p. 160 in the original source./ When

/157 cont./

825 the solar hero gave each animal the task that
787 would fall to it on earth, he said to the cock:
773 "At dawn you shall start divining, you shall
start to crow." Schaden, 1947, p. 114.

787 A very important sector of the influence of the caboclo folk-
177 lore on Guaraní culture is that of magical defense against pains
and inauspicious influences of any nature. The interest in the
practices of defensive and protective magic stems for its part from
the position of importance occupied by black magic in the mental
life of the Guaraní. Capitão Bento of Bananal wore at his neck
a bag with the copy of a "prayer" to São Jorge /Saint George/ to
save him from "Coisa Ruim" /Bad Thing/ and enemies; a small
aluminum cross is supposed to cure him of fever and avert dangers.
789 Old Pedro Pires, likewise a Ñandéva of the coast, has among the
177 little pendants that he wears at his neck a small cross of cedar as
824 a "defense" against enemies and "other things"; to protect himself
against "coisa ruim," he has a necklace of capiá-mirim seeds (7).

7. /From p. 160 in the original source./ This is the same as is used to make the djeatsaá, the variety of elongated seed that they claim to have brought from the Paraná. According to Pedro Pires, the capiá-mirim" is very delicate, it is not for every hand that it will grow, it is necessary to choose the hand." Concerning the djeatsaá, I defined it elsewhere: "The pectoral rows of black seeds or yma ú, which the men wear crosswise over the chest during the religious practices and in other situations of their lives; the word is translated 'to cross'." Schaden apud Nimuendajú, 1954, p. 53. By way of rectification, I want to recall that in Araribá women are seen with djeatsaá.

/157 cont./

751 Sometimes it is difficult to learn whether the magic pend-
•177 ant is or is not of caboclo origin. Thus, another piece of the outfit
237 of the same old man: a piece of the front paw of an armadillo,
"in order to have strength: the armadillo has its strength in the
hand." Old Ermelina (Bananal), who is far from disdaining
guaiacol and other "pharmacy remedies" against toothache and
who, lacking them, has recourse to fumigations with alligator
skin burned in a pipe, uses, hung on her necklace of beads, small
rectangular bag with a piece of alligator jaw, also against tooth-
789 ache. On the same necklace I observed a small medal of Nossa
177 Senhora de Montserrate /Our Lady of Montserrat/, without any
definite purpose. "I put it there just so; I believe a lot in the
saint." There seems to be a tendency to consider the objects of
Catholic worship as bearers of medico-magical qualities in gen-
[776] eral, that is, not specific ones. With the exception of São
Gonçalo and, perhaps, São Jorge, as far as can be verified, there
is not attributed to any saint a definite task or special power.

The signs, such as crosses and hexagrams, drawn with charcoal on the doors of some Ñandeva houses of the coastal villages and in Araribá are also obviously of caipira /this word is not italicized in the original source/ origin. When in this /158/ last nucleus I asked Poýdjú about the meaning of these designs, he at first became visibly ashamed, but then he explained that it was a matter of designs learned from the "nationals" and used by the Indians so that the anguêry and the atsýyguá (or "saci," according to the informant's translation) would not enter the house. The identification of the atsýyguá with the saci, made by Poýdjú and other Indians of the village, is even more significant because of exemplifying very well the phenomenon of convergence and subsequent fusion of native and caboclo ideas.

776 I have noted among the Ñandéva and the Kayová the figure
[184] of the saci, formerly also found among the coastal Tupinambá
[177] and long ago integrated into the Brazilian rural folklore of all
quadrants. The former in Araribá called it atsýyguá, because it
causes pain or sickness to anyone who meets it; nobody sees it,

/158 cont./
776 one only hears its whistle, which inspires fear; it never speaks with anyone, has a human appearance, and is provided with two legs, but small, blackish (therefore also known as kambá í); it
[184] does not smoke. -- The Kayová variant, collected in Benjamim Constant, seems already to have been subjected to Brazilian
[177] or Paraguayan cultural influences. There the name is xaxim-taterê, a being described as a boy about five years of age, two legs, and just like a child, even the features. It manifests itself by a shrill whistle, which makes anyone who hears it shiver and shake; it is not heard in the middle of the forest, but only on the paths (numen viarum!). When the xaxim-taterê whistles, one must not mock it, not doubt its existence; otherwise it appears, armed with a stick, to punish anyone who does not believe in it or who hoots at it. There are xaxim-taterê with white skin and others with black skin; there is no mention of xaxim-taterê with bronze skin. It is considered a kind of night guard, pyharê rupiguá. Its magical force is in the little stick that it carries with it. If the little stick is taken away from it, it loses the power that it possesses. It greatly likes smoking and drinking. If a person wants to see it, it suffices to put a bottle of drink and a little tobacco at the place where the whistle is heard. To make the xaxim-taterê drunk is the means for taking the stick from it. --
776 177 It is obvious that the primitive native representation has been transformed there, as a result of cultural contacts. Nevertheless, it cannot be identified with the saci common in the region, among the rural population of Iberian origin, who, as they told me, is a one-legged, little black boy, a whistler, with a little horn on the forehead, and stealer of fair children.

773 121 It would certainly be an interesting task for a folklorist to collect and analyze the popular tales incorporated into the patrimony /159/ of the various Guaraní groups. I have only noted some examples, in part from the native language. I want to discuss them in another work. Among the Ñandéva of Itariri I have had an opportunity to observe the extraordinary attention with which the Indians listen to the caboclo tales told by the mestizo Leocádio de Oliveira, and the insistence with which they obliged him to go on with the narrative when by chance it was interrupted.

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> "religion of despair." Like all religions, it too finally aims at giving the faithful a means for the psychic surmounting of death and for the solution of other problems that afflict human existence. [177] [797] The peculiar combination of terror with the hope of salvation at the final hour is what is seen as a typically Guaraní touch, probably the fruit of Jesuit seed cast on the fertile soil of the traditional native ideas.

Thus the Guaraní spirit oscillates between the feeling of terror that the inevitable cataclysm causes in it and the hope of reaching Paradise before it is too late. And it is perhaps because of this that the idea of redemption has become so relevant in the tribal religion.

We shall see that the Guaraní imagine the Land without Evil as an ideal land, in which are realized the desires that are not satisfied in this world. [668] [171] But there is to be noted the insistence with which nowadays, when they describe the life that awaits them in the promised paradise, they refer to the re-establishment of the tribal customs in their original purity, an attitude analogous, for example, to that of the prophets of the North American Ghost Dance religion /cited in English/, who for their part preached the return to the conditions of life prior to the coming of the white man. This feature shows that the situation of cultural poverty stemming from cultural contacts has already become established as a problem in the collective consciousness.

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In his famous work published forty years ago, Curt Nimuendajú (2) tells how the fear of the imminent destruction of the world, linked to the hope of finding refuge in Paradise, determines, /162/ from the beginning to the end of their lives, the thoughts, feelings, and actions of the Guaraní Indians studied by him. Under the

2. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Nimuendajú, 1914.

771 /162 cont./ Under the
772 direction of doctor-sorcerers, who, on the basis of dreams and
167 visions, claimed that the destruction of the world prophesied by
[756] the myth was near, many hordes of this tribe, around 1820,
[787] started to walk in the direction of the rising sun from their villages
[175] in the south of Mato Grosso, in order to reach the Land without
Evil, which was supposed to exist beyond the Atlantic Ocean. Only
part of these Indians reached the coast, where, sooner or later,
they finally had to admit the impossibility of reaching the country
of their aspirations. Part of their descendants are the present-day
Ñandéva of the coast of São Paulo. In the immediate surroundings
[175] of the capital of the State, in 1912, Nimuendajú found
some remnants of a band of Paraguayan Guaraní, who could not
be persuaded to give up their plan of continuing their march to
[796] the sea. Nimuendajú himself then accompanied them to Praia
[789] Grande, where night after night they performed religious dances, in
order to make their bodies light enough to fly to the promised land.

From all this come highly significant problems, which were
[121] the point of departure for the present work. To what end would
the Indians whose dream had not been realized finally be brought?
In what manner had their spirit accommodated itself to the frustrating
experience? Did the belief in a mythical Paradise continue
to exist among them and what modifications had it undergone?
[184] -- Even nowadays, as we have seen, migratory movements
continue, at least among the Mbüá. I have the impression, by
the way, that nowadays they are the only ones to search for the
Land without Evil in the east, while the other groups prefer to
seek it in the zenith.

773 In the mythology of all the Guaraní groups now living in
Brazil there occur a Universal Fire and a Universal Flood, which
have destroyed an earlier earth. These representations are probably
part of the ancient mythical tradition of the tribe. The belief in
773 the destruction of the world in the future, however, which in its
797 present form indisputably contains Christian elements, even giving
177 in some of its variants the impression of the Last Judgment, is
possible due to the teachings transmitted by the Jesuit missionaries

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in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In support of this hypothesis, it is fitting to mention the fact that those Guaraní who do not exhibit elements of unquestionably Christian origin in any of their culture -- such as, for instance, the Mbüá of eastern Paraguay, studied by León Cadogan -- for their part do not know about the grievous threat of the destruction of the world, although their mythology does not expressly exclude the possibility (3).

> 3. /From p. 177 of the original source./ Cadogan, 1946, p. 34.

[114] If the supposition is true, already also indicated cautiously /163/ by Nimuendajú, that the belief in the destruction of the world in the future goes back to the days of the Jesuit catechizing, having perhaps originated from a reinterpretation of the Apocalypse of São João /St. John/ (4),

> 4. /From p. 177 of the original text./ It would clearly not be the first time in History that the Evangelist's text had such an effect. I quote the words of one of my professors: "The belief in the proximate end of the world was general in the Middle Ages, owing to a false and materialistic interpretation of the question of the Apocalypse, and even if the terror of the year one thousand was not as great as it was painted by some historians, who with regard to it wrote romance rather than history, it is not possible to deny it altogether, as others assert." A. Piccarolo, 1939, p. 37.

then we must admit that poorly understood Christian teachings are responsible for a radical transformation of the religion of the tribe and that the conception of the world peculiar to the Guaraní of today is far from exhibiting the essentially native character that is customarily attributed to it.

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773 771 184 The belief in the end of the world is far from having a uniform character in the different Guaraní populations, as happens, by the way, with the majority of their religious teachings. The Mbüá believe in an imminent Deluge, in a Universal Fire, and also in a prolonged darkness. For the Ñandéva, the catastrophe that threatens them consists principally in a general fire followed by the crumbling of the earth's surface, represented as a disk. Among the Kayová, as has already been said in an earlier chapter, there is found a description of a scene, rich in detail, in which there is mention of flying horses, macao arrow-shooters, and other types of monsters.

77 177 What is certain is that today the representation of Paradise appears closely bound up with the cataclysmology. Before the inevitable catastrophe happens, one hopes to reach the Land without Evil. Already at the time of the Jesuits, the native belief in Paradise or in happiness in the Beyond (in general without passing through the trial of death) was mixed with Christian elements, and, by virtue of the frustration of the attempts to reach the land of happiness, the myth is nowadays undergoing further transformations, obviously in connection with the general acculturative process.

77 181 If we maintain that the import of the representation of Paradise among the Guaraní is essentially linked to its relation with the cataclysmology, it should be understood by import not so much the function in religious life as, before anything else, the role that it has /164/ filled in the historical destiny of so many hordes of the tribe. Many of them had their fate sealed in part by the fact that they were seized by a true religious delirium, abandoning everything that they possessed, and migrating with women and children across territories peopled by enemy tribes, in the direction of the seacoast, and in part because they did not have at their disposal the cultural and psychic necessities for victory over the obstacles encountered in the civilized world.

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1. The Ñandéva

772 It is our task here to distinguish between those Ñandéva who did
771 not see the attempt to go to the Land without Evil crowned with
[128] success and those who have not yet attempted to reach such an objective.

Among the latter are the Ñandéva of southern Mato Grosso,
of the village of Jacareí. They believe, it is true, that the world
is coming to an end and that its destruction, which will happen by
means of fire, should be interpreted as a consequence of the
wickedness of human beings, particularly the white. But everything seems to indicate that the danger is not imminent. The
place of refuge is Paradise, located in the sea, like an island of
happiness. So long as the faithful of the Guaraní religion follow
the prescriptions of fasting and sing with frequency and fervor
certain religious songs (known as ñandé-aguydjẽ) instead of preoccupying themselves they will reach it without first passing
through /166/ death. It is said that many years ago a whole
community of Indians, while it devoted itself to those religious
exercises, was floating over the waters of the sea, together with
the house and the earth on which it was built, just as if it were
the ark of Noah. The island thus formed is now Paradise, and
Avámbaékuaá, "the knower of things," together with the group
that he leads, lives there. -- It should be noted, however, that
in the village of Jacareí the Indians have quite satisfactory con-
621 ditions of existence. They do not have great difficulty in obtaining
[177] their sustenance, and in general the rhythm of their lives is not
disturbed by the interference of foreign elements. Certainly,
the dream of Paradise also exists for them, but there are no activating factors sufficiently decisive to transform it into an obsession.

539 For the sake of comparison with what has just been discussed,
772 it is interesting to call attention to a story concerning the myth
of Paradise collected by Nimuendajú at Araribá, thus among
Indians who had already made the migration to the seacoast: "A
young Guaraní once went to Rio, where he was very well received.

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539 of the tribe, it is impossible for him to be admitted to the
772 Guaraní religious community. Besides, those not belonging to
186 the tribe could not count on admission to the Land without Evil, because their propensity for irreverence and mockery, as well as the disorderly life that distinguishes them, are pointed out as the main cause of the threatening catastrophe. There is no doubt but that all this is not mentioned in the story reproduced above, but I have had the opportunity to hear such explanations repeatedly from the lips of the Indians themselves.

771 It is not a great step that leads from the accusation of a
829 stranger to self-incrimination. Every Guaraní knows perfectly
● 177 well that the disintegration of the culture in which he lives is a
182 direct consequence of contact with foreign individuals and cultural elements, but neither is he ignorant of the fact that he himself was unable to resist the tempting innovations, accepting them in the place of so many traditional elements. It is understandable that the results of the cultural contact, social disorganization among them, came to constitute for him an explanation of the fact that, in spite of all the religious fervor and the most intense efforts, the path that leads to Paradise is not revealed to him.

771 Formerly, it is told, Paradise was accessible to everyone, and
772 many found the way because they prayed confidently to Ñanderykeý,
178 the civilizer hero, asking that he come to look for them. The present-day Guaraní, however -- it is common talk among the Ñandéva -- will reach the Land without Evil only after death, because they are full of vices and weaknesses.

[167] Nowadays the majority of the Ñandéva, whose migrations ended decades ago, localize Paradise at the zenith, perhaps also by analogy with the Christian heaven. Among them, those who live near the sea and who, in the great majority, were even born there no longer cherish, as we see, the illusion of reaching it before
[177] their death. The myth, although mixed with Christian elements, nevertheless continues to exist.

/168 cont./
772 in order not to become heavy. Many did go up to the Land of
771 Nanderykeý. But it was necessary to pray with great faith. The
173 sea would open at their feet and form a bridge, over which they
passed, in order, on the other side, to ascend to the yvý ñomimbyré.
The "old ones" wanted to get there, "because people do not die
there"; it is a "sacred land." The late Arnaldo -- who did not
hold ñemongaraí on the beach, but only in the forest -- said that
it was very easy: the sea became small, "it was a tiny puddle."
But Arnaldo did not succeed in ascending, "because all of us made
772 mistakes for him." Nowadays it is no longer possible, because
771 "all of us make mistakes"; many "are potxý, very brave," others
178 "always want to make love."

77 The attitude of old Silvino Rufino, Nandéva of Itariri, seems
no less significant to me. In his village there lived for some time,
as we have seen, the Mbũá who came from Paraguay in 1946.
Rufino considered them "somewhat different," because of their
mania to cross the sea. He put them in the same category with
the "believers" (Protestants), who, he said, also lived in hope that
God would send them "the path /169/ that leads to heaven."
Rufino thought that the Land without Evil exists, but he did not believe that one could go there. He argued: If even God, when he
was in the world, and who was not a sinner, had to die in order to
go to heaven, how much more we sinners. After death, yes, we
shall go; the spirit goes. But then we shall all go. "There is only
one way. It is true that there are two ways. But the other one,
the one that goes to hell, is only for those who are furthermore
[177] great sinners." -- In another sense, too, the religious ideas of
Silvino Rufino were corrupted with Christian conceptions. While
the majority of the Nandéva distinguish between heaven properly
speaking (yváy, realm of Nanderuvutsú with his yvyraíidjá Mbaékuaá)
and, located a little lower, the Land without Evil (yvý mará eý or
yvý ñomimbyré, under the rule of Nanderýkeý, son of Nanderuvutsú,
assisted by his yvyraíidjá Tyvýr, son of Mbaékuaá), for him it was
all the same thing -- a heaven partly native partly Christian, dominion of all those deities.

/169 cont./ 2. The Mbüá

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Nowadays the group in which the myth of Paradise fills the most important role seems to be the Mbüá. From Nimuendajú's works one cannot learn with absolute certainty whether in times past this subdivision of the tribe participated in the migratory movements. At present, however, the Mbüá are the only ones that are directed toward the coastal region.

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With regard to the subject focused on here the Mbüá-Guaraní deserve special attention because of the simple fact of there being several groups among them who have preserved in their traditions a great number of teachings of Christian origin, side by side with others, particularly those studied by Cadogan and in part by me in eastern Paraguay (Guaíra), in whose culture no Jesuit influence has as yet been determined.

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It seems that in relation to these last ones, that is, the Mbüá who in times past were not found within the radius of action of the missions, the original native belief in Paradise in its genuine form of aguydjê, that is, as spiritual and physical perfection, now exists more clearly than it does in any other group. At least this is what is understood from the material collected by León Cadogan. Everything seems to indicate that the combination with the myth of the destruction of the world goes back to the classes in religion given in the Jesuit missions of the colonial era.

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/170/ On the one hand we have the above-mentioned Mbüá of Guaíra, in whose mental life the role of the cataclysmology of the future is null or almost null and for whom the ideal of paradise continues to be essentially religious, being identified in the last analysis with a mystical state of happiness obtained as a reward for a special cultivation of supernatural experiences and for "virtuous" behavior, a state that refers less to the physical conditions of existence than to the fate of the soul; on the other hand, those who have already reached the coast or who are on the way to the sea, and who look at Paradise primarily as a place of refuge and security with ideal conditions of life. This sense given to the myth springs from the activation of the belief in the destruction of the world by means of the religious experiences of certain doctor-sorcerers.

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771 On general lines one observes among the Mbüá that the re-
178 ligious motive proper, the mystical union with the deity, tends
to pass to the second plane, yielding its place to cogitations tied to
the insecure or not very satisfactory conditions of life in which
the community finds itself. This in turn contributes to the cultural
[182] disintegration as well as to the social disorganization, because the
economic activities come to be neglected and, above all, the
normal ecological rhythm of the year is not duly respected be-
cause of the simple fact of always being very near to departure.
771 Many, it is stated, have already left ahead of us for the "Land
772 never ending"; ahead of them all, an old doctor-sorcerer,
[756] Ketxuíta or Ketxú Kíritu. He now lives in yvýdjúporã, the "beauti-
ful and holy land," located in the far east, from where he will
send a boat with little benches, on which the faithful will journey
there. They will be received by Korá Rõkẽ Pyguá, the porter of
Paradise, who will take them into the presence of Ketxuíta. The
latter will give them an extent of land, where they will build
their houses and make clearings. There are no sicknesses there,
no death. And there they will find alive their deceased compan-
ions. In summer the old people return to childhood and begin to
grow again. Basically, then, the paradise dreamed of is nothing
but the continuation of earthly existence, with the sole difference
there of not going through the provocations and unpleasantness that
• [177] characterize life on this world. Both the name of the savior hero
[797] and the fact of his having gone on ahead evidently reflect the re-
membrance of the fathers of the Company of Jesus expelled from
Paraguay in 1767.

772 Thus, unlike the Ñandéva, whose migrations were made many
167 decades ago, and who long since have accommodated themselves
181 to the impracticableness of their plan, the myth continues at pres-
[184] ent as an objective in the life of the Mbüá. Those that arrived at
the coast years or even decades ago still insist today on settling
in the vicinity of the sea, since, if there should be an opportunity
to reach the other shore of the Atlantic, there without further ado
they could ascend to the promised land. From Portugal, they be-
lieve, it would be an easy thing; meanwhile the President of the
Republic has refused to provide them ship passage to Lisbon. But
their day will come.

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77 As long, however, as existence on this earth seems more or
182 less tolerable for him and as long as no unequivocal signs of the
829 impending destruction of the world appear to him, the Kayová does not exert himself to find the path that leads definitively to the better world. In the course of his life on this earth he is not infrequently offered the opportunity, on the occasion of the religious dances, of admiring the splendor, the magnificent brilliance of the gods. This fully satisfies him. As for death, he sees it soberly as an institution inherent in human nature and interprets it as the passage of the soul (ayvú) to the celestial realm. Such an attitude, nevertheless, does not prevent him from generally finding the causa mortis in practices of black magic attributed to fellow tribesmen.

All this shows quite well that among the Kayová the apocalyptic threat, although it is constantly present in the mind of all, does not assume the character of concrete actuality as long as the activating factor does not appear. It was with the despair caused by the disastrous interference of the colonization authorities in the conditions of life of the village that this factor presented itself. But on the base of pessimism there quickens in its turn the paradisiacal ideal, and the whole community surrenders itself with great fervor to the religious practices that lead to salvation.

77 /174/ Thus, in recent years the penetration of civilized colo-
● 177 nists, Brazilians and Europeans, into the forests belonging to the
182 Kayová, provoking or exacerbating a state of cultural poverty, has transformed the myth into a force of social expression. There has fallen to it the function of helping the Indians overcome psychically the insecurity and the crisis situation.

77 With regard to the Guaraní who did not migrate to the coast
182 and who in their native villages regularly perform the ceremonies
designed to obtain aguydjé, one cannot properly speak of frustra-
829 tion. The primitive conditions of life have not been shaken to the point of giving rise to a need for the immediate realization of

77 /174 cont./
182 the mythical dream. But in the village of Araribá, for example,
829 where there live about a hundred Ñandéva whose ancestors hope-
[167] fully undertook the migration to the coast and who, after the lack
[162] of success in their ceremonies, were conducted to the interior of
[648] the State of São Paulo, in order to spend their days in a post of
the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, the spirit of the aborigines has
been continuously dominated by the fear of some evil that might
happen. This not infrequently generates a deep weariness which
in persons with a markedly mystical disposition comes to be trans-
formed into a kind of thanatomania. As a result of the disillusion,
the primitive aspiration, aguydjê, which includes the desire to
escape death, is converted, at least in a certain sense into the
contrary attitude, into the wish to die. One tries to die as soon
as possible, in order immediately to enter Paradise, where then,
it is quite true, there is no longer the phenomenon of death.

77 The transformation of the myth among the Guaraní who, for a
182 period corresponding to a generation or more have lived on the
• 177 Paulista coast in more or less continuous contact with the civilized
178 population of the region has taken place in a quite different direc-
829 tion. They resort to Christian elements to explain the poor results
of the ceremonies and thus to reinterpret the original myth. Phe-
nomena of cultural change and social disorganization are utilized
in their turn as proofs and recourses of demonstration. In former
times, when people prayed with true faith and confidence, when the
honey of the wild bees and many fruits were eaten, instead of ex-
cessive meat of game (which has the inconvenience of making the
body "heavy"), when the relations among the fellow tribesmen
were harmonious and when abstention in sexual life was known,
yes, in /175/ former times many were able to walk through the
sea, which opened up at their feet, and, on the opposite shore, to
enter Paradise, where death need not be feared. Nowadays, how-
[578] ever, the efforts of the doctor-sorcerer are doomed to poor results
[756] from the outset because of the simple fact that harmony does not
reign within the community and there are constant quarrels and
fights.

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77 It is therefore in the feeling of guilt that the Guaraní finds
182 the explanation for the lack of success. He feels guilty for having
177 deviated from the forms of life of the ancestors by accepting so
178 many things from the civilized world, by the relaxation of the
[557] old patterns of solidarity with fellow tribesmen, and, finally, by
the fact of having assimilated the Christian idea of sin, which has
been integrated in the structure of traditional representations. The
present position of the myth in the whole of the Guaraní conception
of the world is, therefore, closely bound up with the cultural and
social transformations stemming from contact with civilization.

77 By way of conclusion, it is fitting to state precisely once more
182 in a few words the factors responsible for the activation of the
myth, as well as the consequences of the frustration and the situation of cultural poverty itself.

[177] In essence, these factors may be reduced to three: first, a deep
religious desire, a manifestation of the equally deep mysticism of
the whole tribal religion; secondly, cataclysmology and, concretely,
the fear of the imminent destruction of the world; and, thirdly,
the state of deprivation /cited in English/ caused by cultural con-
[184] tacts. One should emphasize, however, that the three factors do
not manifest themselves uniformly in the different subdivisions of
the tribe, in the diverse villages, and in the various historical
situations. The role of the mythical representation depends on the
predominance of one or another of them in the general picture of
the individual or collective experiences, sometimes undergoing
considerable changes.

77 The consequences of the frustration in connection with the
177 situations of interethnic contact, finally, can be summed up in
178 the following sentences: 1. The ideal of culture and life, an
182 element of community cohesion, loses its polarizing force, one
[621] noting that the groups are dissolved more easily, a situation which
must be understood as reciprocal causality. 2. In connection with
[756] this, the authority of the doctor-sorcerer, originally exclusive, is
[624] influenced and weakened, not only by the fact that he is failing
in his principal task, but also by the incapacity, stemming from
his conservativism and his antiacculturative attitudes, to correspond

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177 to the /176/ demands of the new conditions, which forces him to
178 share the power with a civil chief. 3. Teachings of the Christian
182 doctrine are invoked to explain the frustration, making possible a
[756] reinterpretation of the myth. 4. The frustration is related in
[624] causal terms to the aspects of cultural change appraised negatively,
[186] which favors the strengthening of antiacculturative reactions. 5.
[157] Both the negative result of the ceremonies and the misery and
poverty stemming from the carelessness of the economic activities
result in general psychic depression, a persecution mania, flight
toward sickness and other such morbid manifestations (10).

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 228]

[273] 10. /From pp. 177-178 of the original source./
It is necessary, in my opinion, to include among
these manifestations the considerable consumption
of sugar-cane aguardiente among the present-day
Guaraní, undoubtedly bound up with the larger
177 sphere of the acculturative problems. No great
182 effort is needed to see that the tendency toward
733 alcoholism increases in direct proportion to the
social disorganization and the frequency of contacts with foreigners. The most prone to the
[184] vice are the Ñandéva and Mbüá of the villages
of Bananal, Itariri, and Rio Branco; the least,
the Mbüá most faithful to the original patterns
of their culture, such as, for example, the Mbüá
of the Serra dos Itatins, who came from Paraguay
in 1946 and among whom, on the occasion of
my visits, there was no inveterate drinker.

273 The attitude of the Indians regarding drunken-
828 ness is interesting. Some, generally the ones
[177] most cabocloized, feel little pleasure when the subject is mentioned; they are ashamed of the vice,
which they try to fight, even by means of remedies. Others, like the Mbüá of Rio Branco, talk
about their tendency toward the use of drink without the least constraint: "Sometimes a person

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wants to feel warm." I observed an exception to the general rule, which is to drink as long as one can or as long as there is liquor, in a Mbüá of Rio Branco, who, after three or four little glasses of liquor at the shop of Evangelista de Souza, showed some energy: "What I wanted to drink I have already drunk. Now it is good." Almost all, however, are overcome by apathy and do not react.

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Among the Ñandéva and Kayová of Dourados, in spite of the vigilance exerted by the official of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios and the influence of the Protestant mission, it happens that the proceeds from the changa /wage labor/ is spent on drink, sometimes in one night the earnings of a whole week or more of work. On the following day there is no manifestation of regret or even of discontent, unless drunkenness has become generalized in the village, women and children participating in it, cases in which there are "misunderstandings" with regard to the wives of other men in the course of the drunkenness and the subsequent fights, not infrequently very violent ones. It is to be noted there, by the way, that the older Indians have less inclination toward the use of aguardiente than the younger ones; they are induced to drink by the latter, sometimes drawn in by their own children. There are feasts, [527] [855] anniversaries and others, that are reduced to serenades with liquor, becoming drunk with a great hubbub, even children three and four years old. And at the chicha feasts the Kayová sometimes add some bottles of liquor to the traditional drink.

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There seems to be no doubt but that alcoholism reflects the state of cultural poverty, supplying a

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273 182 177 /footnote 10 cont./
substitute motivation for the objectives dictated by the culture and whose realization has become utopian by virtue of the transformations arising from cultural contacts.

177 177 178 182 and in exceptional cases in thanatomania and suicide. /The notes for Ch. X appear on pp. 176-178 in the original source./

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Conclusion

177 182 128 Since the fundamental characters of the culture and of the accultarative processes have become quite explicit as the observed facts were presented, a final chapter devoted especially to the interpretation of the data seems dispensable. Rigorously speaking, the pages on the role of the myth of Paradise in the culture and in the life of the three subtribes constitute the conclusion of the essay. This myth, the point of convergence of the most significant manifestations of acculturation is, without doubt, one of the master keys for an understanding of the tribal culture, as well as of the phenomena of cultural disintegration and social disorganization observed in the Guaraní groups now existing in Brazilian territory.

It is sufficient, therefore, to take up again here some of the main points, with the aim of emphasizing the more important general aspects.

177 182 All the spheres of the Guaraní cultural configuration, as far as it can be studied in the villages in Brazil, show profound influences from the point of view of acculturation, undergone in two distinct epochs and in essentially different situations of contact. The first ones, at the time of the Jesuit missions, affected the religious system in particular, with regard to the ceremonies as

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177 well as the doctrine, but they did not lead, as a final result, to
182 disintegration of the culture, except in a partial way and in certain communities; after the expulsion of the missionaries, the foreign elements, insofar as they survived, were integrated in the aboriginal cultural system in a satisfactory manner, without the latter's losing its original stamp. The second ones, stemming in the majority from the last century, appear incisive and even decisive for the existence of the culture and the survival of its bearers. Accompanied by a profound revolution in the conditions of life, they gave rise to a state of cultural poverty -- sometimes more, sometimes less extreme, according to the circumstances --, being manifested by two complementary aspects: first, by the maintenance of ancient solicitations, for whose satisfaction /180/ the ancient recourses already do not exist; second, by the appearance of new solicitations, for the satisfaction of which the extant or disposable recourses are not sufficient, whether in adaptive equipment, in the integrative equipment, or, finally, in the material possibilities of the environment themselves. Thus the acculturative crisis is reduced, on the concrete level, to the incompatibility of the ideals of life proposed by the tribal culture on the one hand, and by the forms of existence linked to civilization, on the other hand. The ancient cultural solicitations, demanding, besides a markedly mystical mentality, the realization of numerous religious ceremonies and feasts, some of them being prolonged for weeks or months, do not permit the formation of habits and mental attitudes inherent to the patterns of work necessary for an efficient interlocking of the Indian into the Occidental economy. As has also been observed in other native cultures, the lack of economic capacity, in the sense of a systematic and planned production, in accord with demands formerly nonexistent, tends to be overcome only with progressive individualization, that is, by the dissolution of local groups, which are, at the same time, communities of religious worship. Thus the processes of transformation take place concomitantly in the various cultural spheres, particularly by the replacement of religious and economic values, which in turn leads to linguistic acculturation, to miscegenation, and to detribalization.

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181 In accordance with the essentially mystic orientation of
182 Guaraní culture, the subsistence activities in it are focalized less
• 177 insistently than religious problems. Even further, in economic
work, particularly tillage, there inheres as sacred character, which
requires the performance of a cycle of religious ceremonies para-
llel to the agricultural one. In a general way, the acculturative
crisis -- and in this the Guaraní are distinguished from many other
native tribes -- is progressively exacerbated through the intensifi-
cation of the mysticism peculiar to the tribal conception of the
world. On the one hand, the importance of the religious ideals in
the traditional value system is responsible for the violence of the
conflict between the cultures; on the other hand, in the situation
of insecurity and poverty stemming from the contacts with foreign
people, the Guaraní, instead of developing more rational and
positive mental attitudes, reacts on the emotional plane, by means
of a more and more intense recrudescence of his mystical experi-
[156] ences. It is a vicious circle, which in the majority of cases re-
sults in practically insoluble personality conflicts, principally in
the individuals of the male sex whose cultural participation con-
verges more to the nuclear and determinant values of the system,
while the women, of more practical sense, are more constantly
[464] /181/ subject to the cares of the economic sphere. The difficulties
of the acculturative crisis, by the way, also originate in part from
the fact that it is the men, and not the women, who are forced to
adopt the economic behavior and regular patterns of work, like
the changa /hired labor/ on the fazendas and the yerbales /yerba
maté plantations or districts/, in order to earn the money indis-
pensable for the satisfaction of the new needs.

In the groups that live in such conditions that the subsistence
[241] activities can continue to develop according to the ancient norms,
[224] tillage predominates in general, in spite of the fact that the tech-
niques of cultivation are rudimentary and the pleasures of hunting
excite more interest, the latter, incidentally, the privilege of the
[735] male sex. During the phases of less intense association with
foreign groups, quite stable equilibrium is maintained among the
different subsistence activities, the disnivellation and impoverish-
ment becoming more marked in proportion to the degree that

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182 recourse to substitute or subsidiary activities -- commercializa-
• 177 tion of artifacts, begging trips, etc. -- arising from the contact
735 prevails.

Since Guaraní society does not give prestige to individuals
177 according to the material goods that they by chance possess, there
433 is no stimulus to develop economic productivity, not recognized
18 as a factor of social distinction. This is one of the causes of the
[554] "indolence" which is imputed to the half-caboclo ized Guaraní, who works irregularly, disdains comfort, does not save, does not know how to deal with money, and sometimes, in order to satisfy the needs born out of contact with the white man, shows a strong inclination for theft. But aside from the lack of motivation for economic production on the scale of values elaborated by the culture of the tribe, there is the further difficulty of putting the traditional techniques and behavior patterns in the service of the new
177 objectives. In southern Mato Grosso, contrary to what happened
433 in other places, the Guaraní still have the advantage of finding
464 in the yerba maté industry a field of application for their aptitude
as gatherers, in the same way as, for example, the Terêno and
18 Kaduvêo /Caduveo/ apply their knowledge of shepherding and their skill as horsemen, finding employment as hands on livestock fazendas. But the changa in the yerbales does not provide them with a path to satisfactory economic acculturation, precisely because it does not promote the replacement of the primitive immediatism of the tribal culture by a spirit of prescience of the future. This is why it is commonly said at the native posts that the changa "ruins the Indians." They give up tillage, because on the yerbal they receive provisions in advance, although for an exorbitant price, including the products of the /182/ fields, such as batata, maize, mandioca, and beans. They spend weeks on end in the yerbales (some with the whole family), earning good wages, of which, however, nothing is left over.

177 The need to face new economic demands causes more or less
18 radical transformations in the family organization. As the com-
munitary economy of the great-family cannot exist, the role of
596 chief traditionally exercised by the father, including matters of

/182 cont./
177 religious worship, is also weakened. Spending a large part of
18 his time on fazendas or yerbales, the man develops interests and
596 attitudes not very favorable to the spirit of the great-family. It
is common for the young fellows and married men to spend in one
night the proceeds from a week of work, not infrequently for-
getting to provide for the sustenance of the family group. The
great-family ceases to be the unit of production and consumption,
[594] yielding its place to the elementary family, whose stable nucleus
is sometimes reduced to a woman with her smaller children.

77 It is in the religious system that, in spite of the great differ-
18 ences from one subgroup to another, Guaraní culture finds the
177 maximal expression of its fundamental unity. And it is in the re-
ligion that the defense mechanisms and the conditions of cultural
resistance appear in their most manifest form.

77 As everything indicates, the principal mark that the Jesuit
18 missions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries left on the
177 Guaraní religion was the emphasis assumed by the cataclysmology
797 (in particular the destruction of the world in the future), bound up
with the idea of redemption in the mythical Paradise. Some of
the teachings transmitted in the catechism, finding points of sup-
port in certain notions of the traditional doctrine, came to con-
stitute centers of re-elaboration of the religion of the tribe.

In the last two centuries there have been few attempts at the systematic Christianization of the Guaraní living in Brazil, among them the catechizing that has been going on for decades at the Evangelical mission of Dourados. The result is that the religious acculturation of the contemporaneous Guaraní groups originates almost exclusively through contact with the rural or urban Luso-Brazilian populations, through a reinterpretation, in magical terms, of the Christian elements. And, as they are transferred to the religious sphere properly speaking, the new practices and ideas are integrated into the traditional system thanks to an effort to reconcile the two religions on the basis of similarities and analogies. Thus, for example, the angels of the Christian belief are easily identified with the Nandedjára rembiguái, ancillary spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions.

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77 spirits, which the Kayová doctrine mentions. Furthermore, the
18 margin of individual variability in the interpretation of the world,
• 177 far from imposing a rigorously closed doctrinary body on the /183/
Guaraní believer, trains him for ample tolerance with regard to incongruences or even contradictions. It is probable that in ancient times, when Nandéva, Mbüá, and Kayová families did not yet live together in one and the same village, the beliefs and ceremonies of each one of the subtribes constituted a more rigid and well defined whole.

[783] Among the contemporaneous Guaraní, religious acculturation proceeds parallel to the adoption of new moral ideas, among them that of individual guilt. The Guaraní religion, one must insist on this, does not, except vaguely, recognize free will as a basis for the evaluation of human actions with regard to the fate of the soul post mortem. Good and evil are not qualities inherent in the actions of the individual, but necessary consequences of the nature of the one who performs them. Although susceptible of supernatural [784] sanction (perhaps by way of reward or revenge), the author is not considered morally responsible for his actions.

[78] It is in consequence of miscegenation and detribalization that the ceremonies and feasts prescribed by the tribal religion are little by little abandoned. For the realization of the great feasts the presence of all the members of the group is required; in most cases it is not possible to assemble everybody, because there is always someone to be found abroad, working on a fazenda or yerbal. And furthermore, if it is certain that the Guaraní religion constitutes the "nucleus of resistance" of the tribal culture, it is no less certain that the religion is the first thing rejected by the mestizos. Because of the cultural disnivellation stemming from that, there is no ground for a communitary spirit that would join together the pure and mestizo Guaraní. Were it not for their common position before the white man, the fact that they share with the Guaraní up to a certain point the situation of relative disdain in which caboclos and coastal people always put them, the mestizos, not infrequently characterized as being maliciously clever and troublemakers, would soon disown their native ancestry.

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77 The frustration of the Guaraní in the effort to be looked at and
18 treated on an equal footing with the inhabitants of Portuguese origin,
177 added to the previous experience of not having succeeded in going to the Land without Evil, favors now and again the appearance of antiacculturative attitudes, leading to the rejection of elements of the material culture previously accepted, but above all to a reviviscence, even though ephemeral, of the religion of the ancestors, in cases where the latter already shows signs of disintegration.
006 /Page 184 is blank: pp. 185-188 contain the bibliography, which is omitted in the translation, but is available in the foreign text./

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301 Cayuá, and diadems, headbands, armbands, and feather collarpieces are men-
237 tioned. It may also be supposed that the cotton or *caraguatá* belts, which
are now so commonly used and prized by the Cayuá, were also formerly
known. Métraux comments, in connection with the use of cotton and *caraguatá*
286 as weaving materials, that the Cayuá are the only Tupi-Guarani tribe to use
*174 indifferently cotton and other vegetable fibers for weaving.

The Cayuá loom was the simple upright frame, with vertical posts planted
in the ground. The top horizontal piece was laid in forks in the uprights, and
the lower horizontal piece was tied to the uprights at the distance required.
The warp was usually composed of a single continuous or knotted piece of
yarn passed around and around the horizontal loom pieces. No comb or bat
[386] was used, apparently, and the woof was put through the warp by hand. The
product of the Cayuá loom was a creditable article, nevertheless, and simple
[462] dyeing was practiced with several plant colors available. Women were, as
*174 they now are, the weavers of the Cayuá.

283 Fishing lines, and cords and ropes for heavier purposes, were twisted from
227 various vegetable fibers. Some of the ropes were strong enough to hold large
animals when these were caught in nooses made from them. Since very early
• [177] times the Cayuá have used metal obtained from European needles or other
sources for fishhooks, so it is difficult to say what the aboriginal article may
*174 have been.

411 Cayuá tools and weapons included the bow and arrow, already mentioned.
The bow was round in cross-section, and the arrows were two-feathered.
Métraux mentions triple feathering of arrows for the Cayua, but no other
*174 suggestion of this has been encountered, and it is not present in modern arrows.
412 Clubs were formerly used by the Cayuá. Notched axes of stone and knives
of bamboo are indicated, but it is not known what form of aboriginal hoe or
[178] hoe-like implement was used, if any. The digging stick, or *sarakwá*, was the
primary agricultural implement aboriginally, and possibly the only one; it is
[171] still in use today, not only by the Cayuá but by local Neo-Brazilians.

301 Cayuá men wore the long lip-stick or *tembetá* ("lip-stone"), which in their
881 case was customarily made of the translucent resin of a certain tree. This
ornament and symbol of initiation and a man's status is still in use among some
*174 Cayuá, although modern examples appear to be shorter on the average than
304 some of the extremely long ones reported for the past—up to thirty and more
000 centimeters. Face painting for women and children is indicated for the

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Métraux, 1928, p. 150. *Ibid.*, p. 232.

[797] The weaving of cotton was one of the household industries of Guarani women of which the
Jesuits have made considerable mention in connection with the economic organization of the
[439] missions. Some of this production was apparently sold on the outside, and the priests seem to have
made much effort to inculcate the industry in their female wards.

Métraux, 1928, p. 75. *Ibid.*, pp. 98–99.

3: Watson

SM4 Guarani SM4

177

For data on acculturation, passim, see category 116, pp. 9-16, 41-80 and 92-132.]

175 /31 cont./
second half of the /32/ following century, when they were expelled,
797 the Jesuits left 32 reductions, with a population of about 100,000
361 Indians (2).
162

[113] 2. Martin Dobrizhoffer, Geschichte der Abiponer /History of the Abipon/, Vol. 3, pp. 504-506. Vienna, 1783-84.

175 In 1855 the government of Paraná made an attempt to establish
361 beside the ruins of the former Jesuit reduction of Loreto de Pirapó
648 (near where the Pirapó empties into the Paranapanema) a settle-
ment of Cayuá Indians, later transferred a little higher, with atten-
657 tion paid to the conditions of salubrity. The results of the undertaking were not as good as had at first been expected. In times gone by the Cayuás have ordinarily preferred to live isolated from other groups, whether of Indians or of whites.

• 177 In 1908 von Koenigswald writes that the idiom of the Cayuá
197 constituted at the time a dialect of the old Guaraní, completely lacking the invocations introduced into the language by the Jesuits (3).

[113] 3. Gustav von Koenigswald, "Os Cayuás /The Cayua/." Separate from Vol. XCIII, No. 24, of Globo. Distributed on June 25, 1908. Translation of F. W. Sommer. Page 3.

177 The group of the Cayuá studied by the author is nowadays fully
197 acquainted with the modified type of the Guaraní idiom; they
have perhaps learned it in the last 40 or 50 years, a period in
178 which they have had more and more intense contact with the white population. Among the older individuals there are a few who only speak the older type of idiom, the "pure" Cayuá, and although many of the younger ones use the modified form in the major part of their conversation, they nevertheless know the older type, being
[361] able to point out the differences. A small number of Indians,

/32 cont./
177 made up of those who have spent a large part of their lives out-
178 side of the Indian aldeias, having lived in closer contact with the
197 whites, speak and know only the modified type of the language,
361 admitting that they have difficulty at times in understanding the
speech of some of the older ones. I found very few of these cases.
361 Taquapirí, the aldeia under consideration in this article, is
located in the Federal Territory of Ponta Porã, between the
[101] Brazilian settlements of União and Nhu Verá, about two leagues
[161] from the Paraguayan border. At present about 175 individuals are
counted in the aldeia, many of them relatives and friends of other
[628] Cayuá of the various groups of these Indians in the region, such
as the Posto Índigena "Benjamin Constant," Mangaí, Iguassutí,
178 Ipeum, and Pirajuí. The Cayuá nowadays devote themselves
intensively to agriculture, making large clearings, and devoting
433 little time to hunting or fishing. Von Koenigswald states that at
the beginning of the twentieth century, the period in which he
traveled through the /33/ region, the same was not true. "Every
Indian village maintains a small clearing with maize, mandioca,
gourd, sweet potato..." (4).

4. Ibid., p. 7.

178 About 40 or 50 years ago, more or less, the restrictions with which
131 the whites reduced the area of land that the Indians can use were
becoming more accentuated. Today the Indians of Taquapirí
423 are limited to a territory which is not watered by rivers that con-
648 tain a large amount of fish and which does not have forests with
plentiful game either. This progressive diminution of the Indians'
[175] territory remains alive in the memory of part of the older men of
the group. The introduction of the machete to this group, an
174 event that took place at least in a period much earlier than the
177 reduction of the Indians' territory on the part of the whites and
412 which was going to facilitate the opening of the clearings in the
forest, constituted another important factor of the change observed
313 in the economy of the Cayuá /The index number for footnote 5

175
412
•177
313 /33 cont./
is missing in the original text./

5. Ibid., p. 5.

121 The discussion of the kinship system of the Cayuá can be divided into two distinct parts, kinship terminology and kinship behavior. The kinship behavior will be discussed first in terms of the life cycle and then in terms of reciprocal behavior.

Kinship Terminology

128
601 The charts I, II, and III[1] represent diagrams of the kinship terminology of the Cayuá. Portuguese terms /translated into English for Chart I/ are used in these diagrams for simplification. The Cayuá terms are brought together in Chart IV.[2]

601 The kinship system is classificatory, since the relatives of the lineage and the collateral ones are put together in the same class. The father's brother is classified with the father, and the mother's sister is classified with the mother, while the mother's brother and the father's sister are designated with distinct terms. The grandparents are distinguished only according to sex, and the terms that denominate the grandparents are also extended to their "siblings" (6).

6. "Siblings" are brothers and sisters who have the same mother and the same father.

All the grandchildren are put together in one class without any distinction, not even as to sex. In the generation of Ego the older brother is distinguished from the younger brother, and the older sister from the younger sister. These designations are extended to the /34/ parallel and cross cousins. The brother's children are son and daughter in the words of the man, and nephew and niece in the words of the woman. All the children of sons and daughters and nephews and nieces are grandchildren.

[1] [pp. 20 and 21 of translated text--analyst]

[2] [pp. 22 and 23 of translated text--analyst]

/36 cont./
553 themselves in a hammock, while the mother has the baby in her
arms. Relatives of the child may or may not be present. The
person who performs the ceremony is likewise sitting in a hammock,
singing various songs. It is the mother who gives the name
to the child. Before the ceremony ends, the child is seated on
the floor, a piece of corn husk being put on his back by way of
a tail. Then the one in charge of the ceremony continues to sing
[828] and cuts the corn husk. If this is not done, the child will be restless,
like a chick, and throughout life he will not want to remain
[551] still. No payment is made for this service. Nowadays only Cayuá
names are given in the manner described, but all the Cayuá of
[177] Taquapirí have Brazilian names by which they are called. These
might be given by a Catholic priest who by chance is going through
[178] the region, but it frequently happens that the person is given any
name suggested by the father or by some Brazilian.

855 **Education:** During the first years of life the child is ordinarily
867 educated by the parents for the role that it is to perform as an adult.
It falls to the mother to educate the daughter, and, while the child
868 is still quite small, she must become familiar with a small number
593 of tasks connected with the domestic economy, such as, for example,
462 that of fetching water. In the course of time the girl /37/ learns
other work, such as pounding maize, cooking the various foods,
planting the clearing, harvesting the crops and taking them home,
as well as sewing clothes. Mother and daughter are found in constant
association, the moments when they are separated being rare.
[736] In case of the mother's death, it is the maternal grandmother or
[603] the mother's sister who takes charge of the girl's education.

The boy's teacher is the father, and some boys, upon reaching
[423] the age of about eight or ten, receive from the father small
areas of land which they can cultivate and consider their property.
The majority of the boys, however, work in the father's clearing
until they reach an age quite considerably older. Although the
principal work is that of the clearing, the boy needs to learn other
things as well; he is also taught how to hunt and fish, to collect
wild honey, to make baskets and bows and arrows. In case of the
father's death, the boy is taught by the
paternal uncle.

101 *Catanduvá* are designated in Brazil under the generic term of *Caiuá*
181 (*Kayguá*).

[114] The *Ivaparé* (*Aré, Shetá*), erroneously called *Botocudo* or *Notoboto-*
[300] *cudo* because of their wooden labrets, are a *Guaraní*-speaking group living
on the Ivahy River, near the Ranharanha (Ariranha) Cachoeira (lat. 24°
[178] S., long. 53° W.). These Indians have abandoned farming, and roam in
[241] the forests like the *Guayakí* (Borba, 1904, Loukotka, 1929).

177 At present most of the *Cainguá* groups are in constant contact with the
178 Mestizos and Whites, and many *Cainguá* work as peons in the estancias,
[464] in the maté or lumber camps. With the earned money they buy clothes,
[432] tools, food, pots, sugar, and salt. Consequently, they have abandoned
[241] weaving and even their native ware. On the other hand, they still cultivate the same plants as their ancestors.

161 **Population.**—Nimuendajú (1914 a, p. 293) estimated in 1912 the total number of the Brazilian *Cainguá* at about 3,000.

174 **Sources.**—Information on the ancient *Guaraní* is scanty and fragmentary, but can be supplemented by our better knowledge of their descendants, the numerous *Cainguá* tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil.
[171] Moreover, from all available evidence, ancient *Guaraní* culture appears to be basically like that of their neighbors and kinsmen, the coastal *Tupí*.

113 Most of the data on the ancient *Guaraní* used in this chapter come from
114 the "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" (see Pedro Hernández, 1852), Schmidel (1903), Ruíz de Montoya's (1892) "Conquista espiritual," and the "Cartas anuas de la Compañia de Jesus" (1927–29). Del Techo (1673, 1897) and Lozano (1873–75), who often have been regarded among our best authorities on the *Guaraní*, obtained most of their data from Jesuit reports (Cartas anuas).

The earliest description of the *Cainguá* appears in Dobrizhoffer (1874). Azara's (1809, 1904) often-quoted passages on the *Guaraní* should be used with caution. Rengger (1835) in the beginning of the 19th century and Vogt (1904), Ambrosetti (1895 b), and Vellard (1939 a) in recent times have contributed good information on the material culture of the Paraguayan *Cainguá*. On the *Cayuá* of Southern Brazil, we have a monograph by Von Koenigswald (1908). The outstanding sources on the modern *Guaraní*, or *Cainguá*, are a monograph by Nimuendajú (1914 a) on the religion and mythology of the *Apapocuva-Guaraní*, and a series of studies by Father Franz Müller (1934–35) on the Paraguayan *Cainguá*.

Pablo Hernández's (1913) monumental work is the most complete modern source on the history and organization of the Jesuit missions. Cardiel's (1900) "Declaración de la verdad" and Muratori's (1754) "Nouvelles des missions du Paraguay" are excellent 18th-century treatises on life in the missions.

252 They crush the pith of the palms in a mortar, strain it through a sieve,
and dry it in the sun.

Meat is more often broiled on a spit than on a babracot. Broiled fish and game are sometimes ground into powder (piracui).

263 *Caingud* do not use salt. Instead they season their food with the ashes
824 of a tree (*Machaerium angustifolium*).

252 Wooden mortars are generally made of a long log hollowed at one
[412] end, but some have the grinding pit on the side. Flour is strained through
[415] beautifully plaited sieves, identical to those of Guiana, although Paraguay
[171] is the southernmost limit of their distribution. When the *Caingud* have
no pottery at hand, they boil food in green bamboo joints. They serve
[145] food in wooden dishes or in calabashes of various sizes and shapes.

VILLAGES AND HOUSES

342 A typical *Guaraní* village consisted of four to eight large rectangular
178 houses—some about 50 m. (165 ft.) long—grouped around a square
[361] plaza. Each house had a vaulted or gabled roof which rose from the
ground and was supported on a ridge pole that rested on a row of posts
dividing off the quarters of each individual family. The roof was thatched
[824] with grass, palm leaves and, in certain regions of the coast, with pieces
of bark. There was a door on each side of the house. Villages were fortified
[712] with a double or triple stockade and a series of moats, bristling with
half-buried spears.

The vaulted hut has survived only among the *Pañ'*. Other *Caingud*
now build either a gable roof resting on the ground and thatched with
tacuapi grass, or palm leaves, or a gabled house with vertical wattle-and-
daub walls (4 to 6 m., or 13 to 20 ft., long; 3 to 4 m., or 10 to 13 ft.,
[413] wide). Grass thatching is sewn to the structure with large wooden
needles. Of all the modern *Guaraní* only some *Caingud* of Brazil still
lived in communal houses 50 years ago. These houses were 25 to 50
feet (7.5 to 15 m.) long and were grouped in villages surrounded by a
thorn hedge or a palisade.

352 **Household furniture.**—The aboriginal cotton or palm-fiber hammock
[178] is now being supplanted by the platform bed or sleeping mat. Four-
[532] legged benches, which are often carved out of a single log in animal
[353] shapes, are still fairly common. Utensils and foods are stored on shelves
[237] suspended from the roof or are hung on wooden hooks or on bent deer feet.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

291 **Clothing.**—Most of the *Guaraní* went entirely naked, although in cer-
178 tain regions, it seems, women wore either a loincloth or a cotton dress
177 (the tipoy), a sacklike garment covering the body from the breasts to
797 the knees which was eventually adopted universally through missionary
184 influence.

influence. The southernmost *Guaraní*, who lived in a harsh climate, 291
followed the example of the *Charrua* and wore skin cloaks. In some 178
Cainguá groups, men wear a loincloth (hence the name *Chiripá*); in [177]
others they pass a piece of cloth between the legs and tuck it under a [101]
belt of human hair or fibers (hence the name, *Baticola*, "crupper").
Today cotton ponchos are sometimes worn by men.

Ornaments.—The distinctive lip ornament of ancient and modern 301
Guaraní is a long T-shaped stick made of jatahy rosin; labrets of 178
stone or bone were exceptional.[2a] Women hang triangular shell pendants [314]
from their ears. In the 16th century, men wore huge shell-disk [321]
necklaces, which have often been discovered in archeological sites. A [175]
few privileged individuals suspended on their chest pendants of silver [172]
or copper plates which had reached Paraguay from Perú. [554] [171]

At ceremonies, modern *Cainguá* men wear feather wreaths, cotton 301
sashes fringed with feathers, or seed necklaces with feather tassels. Pairs
of these necklaces are crossed over the chest. Children's and women's [532]
necklaces are strung with pyramidal wooden beads, wooden or bone [237]
pendants carved into human or animal forms, seeds, small gourds, fish
vertebrae, pendants made of toucan skin, and other objects.

Feather cloaks, formerly worn by famous chiefs, are no longer seen, 301
but feather bracelets and diadems are still used by shamans or participants 237
in religious ceremonies. On some headdresses, feathers were mounted [554]
on a woven frontlet, a technique suggesting Andean influence. Feather [177]
garlands were sometimes tied on top of the head in the form of rudimentary
bonnets. The *Mbyá* wear bracelets, garters, and anklets of [184]
human hair. Belts of hair are worn only by men. Finger rings of [824]
palm fruits or iguana tails seem now to have become fashionable.

The circular tonsure of the ancient *Guaraní*, still used by some *Cainguá* 302
groups, did not extend to the forehead, as among the *Tupinamba*, but 178
was similar to that of Franciscan monks.

Painting.—The use of urucú for body paint is widespread, but that of 302
genipa seems to be limited to the Brazilian *Cainguá*. Other groups sub- [386]
stitute for it the juices of several plants or a mixture of charcoal and [184]
honey or wax. Traditional facial designs are dots and stripes, some- [531]
times applied with bamboo stamps.

The ancient *Itatin* rubbed ashes from bones of birds of prey or swift 825
animals into cuts made in their skin to improve their dexterity in archery. 411

TRANSPORTATION

Boats.—The ancient literature rarely mentions dugout canoes though 501
they must have been common on the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers. The
Paraguayan *Cainguá* live on streams that are unsuited to boats and consequently
make only a few dugouts or bamboo rafts, mainly for crossing

[2a] Today labrets have fallen into disuse.

501 rivers. They propel these craft with poles. The *Cayuá* of Brazil, who
[171] reside near larger streams, are good boatmen and travel a great deal in
large dugouts, 8 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) long.

482 **Carrying devices.**—Goods are carried in cylindrical or rectangular
[285] twilled baskets, reinforced with a wooden frame. *Paĩ* carrying baskets
are relatively extensible and are made of intertwined pindo leaves, the
midribs strengthening the whole structure. Carrying nets made of bark
•[177] strips were clearly introduced with the maté industry. The *Guaraní* skin
[178] bag is certainly older than the net and appears to be an article that originated locally or was borrowed from tribes to the south.

482 Babies are ordinarily carried in a sling, straddling their mothers' hips,
854 but they may be transported in baskets or in skin bags.

MANUFACTURES

285 **Basketry.**—The *Guaraní* weave temporary baskets of the pinnae of
[824] pindo palms, the midrib serving to reinforce the rim. More permanent
containers are made of twilled fabrics of tacuarembo strands. They are
[531] ornamented with black, geometrical motifs.

283 **Spinning and weaving.**—Thread is made of cotton carded with a bow,
or of *Bromelia*, nettle (*Urera grandifolia*), and palm (*Acrocomia totai*)
[824] fibers.

286 Cotton is spun with a drop spindle and woven on a vertical loom with a
[293] circular warp. Cloth is generally white with alternate brown and black
[531] stripes, dyed with the bark of *Peltophorum dubium* and *Trichilia catigua.*
[386] The technique of darning weft strands through warp elements attached to
[824] a vertical loom, though it has been observed in modern times, was probably
[118] an early practice abandoned when true weaving became general, probably
[177] through *Arawak* influence.

323 **Pottery.**—*Guaraní* ceramics are known through archeological finds in
178 São Paulo, Rio Grande do Sul, near Asunción in the Argentine territory of
Misiones, and on the island of Martín García. The largest specimens are funeral urns, which also served as beer containers. Small dishes and bowls have a white interior slip which bears sigmoid figures, curves, triangles, mazes, and "grecques." The large jars and ordinary ware have continuous rows of thumbnail or other impressions over their entire surface. The *Cainguá*, who have practically given up pottery, make only a ware that is decadent in quality and shape. Bowls with a flaring base ("compotera" types) may perhaps be a survival of a pre-Columbian type.

415 **Leather work.**—The *Cainguá* carry their small possessions in skin bags.

Weapons.—*Cainguá* bows are made of palm wood, guayaihwi (*Pata-*
411 *gonula americana*), or ihvira payú, ihvira pepé (*Holocalyx balansae*).
824 They are 6 to 8 feet (2 to 2.5 m.) long, circular or oval in cross section,
and entirely or partially wrapped with guembé bark (*Philodendron* sp.)

178 a cabo (Vogt, 1904, p. 203). Today the number of Indians under the
622 authority of a chief vary from 20 to about 100.

621 The members of the ancient *Guaraní* communities built the houses of
their chiefs and tilled their fields and harvested their crops (Ruíz de
Montoya, 1892, p. 49).

685· **Law and order.**—It is only about modern *Cainguá* communities that
756 there is some information on justice and law. Thieves are detected by
695 shamans, who touch each suspected man on the chest near the heart. If
684 the fingers leave a red mark, the man is guilty. A stolen wife must be
returned with a present. In case of murder, if the criminal's relatives do
682 not pay the wergild to prevent a feud, the offended family takes the
punishment into its own hands.

576 **Etiquette.**—Among ancient *Guaraní*, when a guest entered a hut, he
574 was surrounded by women who wailed and enumerated the deeds of his
dead relatives. The guest covered his face with his hands and shed a
few tears. The amount of crying and wailing was proportionate to the
importance of the visitor (Ruíz de Montoya, 1892, p. 52).

LIFE CYCLE

843 **Birth and naming.**—Even in modern days, a pregnant woman must
846 avoid any food that might make her child abnormal. After childbirth,
the father lies in his hammock until the infant's navel cord falls off, re-
842 fraining from activities thought harmful to the baby. The *Apapocuva*
775 believe that babies are reincarnated dead people, hence one of the shaman's
756 first tasks is to identify the returning spirit and, by means of his super-
789 natural power, to obtain a magic substance to be rubbed into the child's
851 body. Infant baptism, though Catholic in many respects, is permeated
•177 by ancient rites and beliefs. Names refer to mythical beings or to sacred
178 objects associated with the place on the horizon from which the soul is
551 supposed to have come. Children may be very closely identified with
77 the deities of the Upper World, and those from the west, the abode of
Tupã, may receive a miniature of the bench symbolic of their divine name-
553 sake. In case of danger, especially if a person is sick, his name is changed
851 and a new ceremony of baptism is performed (Nimuendajú, 1914 a, pp.
302-303).

881 **Boys' initiation.**—A *Cainguá* boy undergoes something of an initiation
rite when, prior to puberty, his lower lip is perforated for the insertion of
[273] a labret. After a group of boys has been somewhat anesthetized with beer,
[412] a specialist perforates each boy's lower lip with a wooden or deer-horn
[237] awl and prays to Tupã that the labret may protect its wearer against death.
[273] For the three following days the initiates eat only maize mush. After
their initiation they drop the infantile "u, u" (yes) for the adult mascu-
[195] line "ta."

178
668 and the approach of a new golden age; or else some tribe would leave its
786 territory in quest of the Land-Without-Evil. According to missionary
[756 accounts, shamans often represented themselves as the Lords of the
797 Universe and preached a holy war against the intruders. These messiahs
177] performed rites and expressed ideas that, like the redeemer concept, included many borrowings from Christianity.

175 During the last century, three *Guaraní* groups, the *Apapocuva*, the
167 *Tanyguá*, and the *Oguauiva*, fearing an imminent destruction of the world
786 announced by their shamans, desperately attempted to reach the Land-
772 Without-Evil, where there is abundance of all good things and eternal life. Since most authorities located the paradise somewhere in the east, beyond the sea, these migrations were directed toward the Atlantic Coast. In 1910, a group of *Apapocuva* sought to lose weight through dancing, so as to fly over the ocean.

786 This great hope, which has so deeply influenced the destiny of these
772 Indians, is based on a myth which describes the first destruction of the
756 universe by fire and water. A shaman forced his people to dance day and night so as to open the way to the heavenly country. Modern *Guaraní* often tried to emulate this act, irrespective of repeated failures, which they blamed on ritual mistakes or on the use of foreign foods. The leaders of these movements were always famous shamans surrounded by an aura of mystery.

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[full bibliography not processed -
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361 [161] [184] the village of Taquapiry, a relatively closely grouped settlement of Cayuá, number about 175, including men, women, and children. To a certain extent, Taquapiry was atypical of what we had observed for some Cayuá elsewhere in that it was a group of houses built in relative proximity one to another, without much of the frequently encountered scattering of small kin groups in the forest. There were, however, some evidences of the tendency to live apart, representing, possibly, some of the more "traditionally minded" individuals of the group. Present-day Cayuá are sedentary and live in rough houses, many of which, in Taquapiry, house only elementary family groups.

241 423 [462] [581] [736] [594] The present Cayuá are primarily agricultural. Almost every adult male in the village has a *roça*,[8] or field, for planting, which is cut out of the forest by what can be generally described as slash-and-burn methods. A man need not be married before he possess a *roça*, and even some women carry on with their husband's *roça* after being widowed or divorced. But, generally speaking, *roças* are today associated with elementary families, for whom they serve as the principal means of obtaining a living.

224 226 A certain number of Cayuá still spend some time in hunting and fishing, although the number would not be as large as that of *roça* owners. Nor is the amount of time spent in hunting and fishing, in the majority of cases, usually more than a small fraction of that spent in agriculture. Hunting and fishing require considerable time, at least a day for even a small-scale hunt and two days and often more for fishing. The game resources of the immediate neighborhood of Taquapiry are not extensive, and no fish-bearing streams are to be found less than a half-day's distance from the *aldeia*. There are probably not more than one or two men in the village who spend more time in hunting and fishing than in agriculture.

Trapping and snaring, with the dual purpose of providing occasional meat and keeping agricultural pests under control, are engaged in to some extent by nearly all Cayuá males, whether or not they also hunt and fish. Trapping and snaring are somewhat distinct from "true" hunting and fishing in the Cayuá instance; they do not call for departure from regular agricultural activity. The provident

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[8] A Brazilian word referring to the notably similar complex of agricultural traits among rural Brazilians. [177]

under certain conditions. Some activities in the agricultural work of 462
the *roça*, nevertheless, are preferably if not necessarily performed by [241]
the women.

Very important as a strictly feminine contribution to the economy 273
is the woman's part as the producer of *chicha*.[9] The *chicha*-maker
is important to the economy in two ways: *1)* the *chicha* which she 462
produces is consumed as a beverage, doubtless has nutritive as well as
socially ascribed value, and is therefore a "good"; and *2)* her *chicha*
is essential in the system of reciprocal joint labor. After every work [476]
party, the wife or some close female relative of the man for whom
the others have worked offers *chicha* which she has made. Cayuá [241]
chicha-making is in a certain sense, of course, only a rather specialized
aspect of cooking. *Chicha*-making is today closely related to
agricultural activity and the drink is made from agricultural products,
corn, potatoes, manioc and sugar cane juice. Its present *use*
and *function* in the agricultural round of things is unmistakable.

Historic Influences on Cayuá Culture

In general outline, the influences which have played upon the 177
culture of the Cayuá during recorded history, at least within the
period with which we shall be concerned in this paper, are very
similar to influences upon indigenous culture elsewhere in the Americas
occasioned by the coming of the Europeans. They are: *1)* the [412]
introduction of metal tools and the other common trade goods of
expanding European civilization; *2)* more and more direct contact of [648]
the white settlers with the indigenous peoples bringing with it varying [657]
results; and, finally, *3)* the restriction of territories and the dislocation
of the people from their former territories, with the frequent
and logical result of such a trend, establishment on reservations.

The Jesuits, 1610-1768

Very little can be said here about what may have been the influences 174
upon the Cayuá of the Jesuits with their missionary set- 797

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[9] "Chicha" is the Spanish and the Portuguese word as employed by the Cayuá. Their own word for this beverage is caᵉ wiᵉ.

One thing is certain, however, and that is that the Guarani spoken 174
by the Cayuá of southern Brazil has been, up until quite recently — a
fact still to be observed in the speech of the older persons of the tribe, 197
at least — a "pure" variety largely unaffected by the alterations Guarani 797
is said to have undergone at the hands of the Jesuit grammarians,
together with the subsequent introduction of many words of Spanish
origin. Rengger[12] comments on this difference of the Cayuá language
from the Guarani of Paraguay, and von Koenigswald[13] observes the
same fact. The present-day Cayuá, themselves, also recognize this
characteristic of their speech: the young describe the more archaic
and "purer" speech of the oldest members of the group as *"puro de
Cayuá"*, while they consider that they, themselves, speak *"meio paraguaio."*
Thus they acknowledge a supposed influence of the second
language of neighboring Paraguay, the hispanicized and "regularized"
language which itself also springs from indigenous Guarani dialects.
This would seem to substantiate the conclusion of von Koenigswald
that we are justified in postulating little or no effective Jesuit contact
with the Cayuá. Or, we might quite reasonably suggest that some
Cayuá may actually have come under the Jesuit influence and become
culturally and linguistically distinguished from the rest of the tribe,
only to disappear later as a distinct ethnic entity in the destruction,
absorption, and enslavement that followed the break-up of the Jesuit
empire.

The question of Jesuit influence on the Cayuá may well not be 174
merely academic for a paper which is mainly concerned with historical
influences on the economy of the latter. According to accounts of 797
the Jesuit missions in the region, the missionaries actively influenced 177
much more than merely the religious aspects of the indigenous cultures
with which they were in contact. They are said to have encouraged, [241]
developed, and rationalized agriculture, doubtless introducing
new plants to the Indians and perfecting farming methods. That [361]
they would have encouraged a sedentary type of culture rather than
a nomadic one is quite clear; otherwise their religious program would
have been gravely handicapped. Apparently the Jesuits also encouraged [433]
a certain sort of communalism of production and distribution.
Some of these influences doubtless remained in the cultures of groups 174
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[12] *Op. cit.*

[13] *Op. cit.*

as to why this method of fishing was not still practiced. All admitted 226
that the catch of fish was usually enough to be worthwhile, and, apart 178
from the distance involved in reaching suitable streams, no important disadvantages could be ascribed to *timbó* fishing. It seems possible, however, that the disuse of this technique may be related to the growing emphasis on agriculture and the consequent relative loss of the hunting and gathering type of activity in Cayuá culture.

Forces Making for Intensified Agriculture

Attention has so far been directed toward certain forces presum- 177
ably making for the decrease among the Cayuá of large-scale hunting
and gathering activities. The forces mentioned have been only nega- 241
tive in the sense that they could not actually make for an increase in 182
agricultural activity. We now come to two forces which have had a 721
more positive effect, one of which is perhaps peculiar to the situation of the Cayuá, and the other of which must have been more or less characteristic of practically all indigenous groups who have come into contact with Europeans in Brazil. The first is the guarantee of relative security from attacks by hostile peoples; the second, an improved technology for agriculture made possible by metal tools received from the whites.

Even the scanty references to the Cayuá in the literature leave 175
little doubt that among their traditional enemies, of whom they lived 182
in constant fear, were the Mbaya or Guaycurú peoples to be found
to the north and west of the Cayuá territory. Gay,[23] basing his 721
statement on Azara, mentions that in 1746, this warlike people, the Mbaya, "made peace with the Spanish, established themselves in the Tropic of Capricorn, not far from the Rio Paraguay, and turned their arms against the Caaiguás (Cayuá)" as well as against other
tribes and other white settlers. Rengger[24] states that at the time of 175
his visit to a Cayuá group, presumably in northeastern Paraguay, a
little over a century ago, he was told by the people that they feared 722
to keep dogs or chickens because the barking and the crowing might 182
betray the whereabouts of the group to the enemy, the Mbaya. Von

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[23] Gay, Cônego João Pedro, *op. cit.*, fn. 12.

[24] *Op. cit.*, pp. 123-24.

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175 Koenigswald,[27] emphasizing the reticent nature of the Cayuá in seek-
722 ing the deepest recesses of the forest in an effort to keep out of harm's
way, states that it was not only the whites of whom the Cayuá were
182 afraid but also other hostile Indian tribes, including especially the
Mbaya.

It does not seem necessary to dwell upon the difficulties of agri-
•177 culture with reference to a group which lived in constant fear of
241 enemies and in constant readiness to abandon on short notice any
given residence for another.[28] The coming of the whites and the
648 stabilizing influences which they doubtless brought, at least as far
182 as reducing open warfare is concerned, culminated finally in the
[667] establishment and reservations in recent years, not only of the Cayuá,
but also of the Guaycurú peoples themselves.[29] This served to remove
at least one difficulty in the way of an increase in Cayuá agriculture.

A more positive force making for the development of Cayuá agri-
177 culture is that of an improved agricultural technology made possible
241 by the *tools* which the Indians received from the Europeans and upon
which they have come to depend so completely today. It is dificult
412 to imagine what Cayuá agriculture might be like without the *facão*
182 or *machete*.[30] This tool is used to fell trees – even reasonably large
ones if no ax is available, to dig, to clear underbrush, and to plant.
It is the *sine qua non* of Cayuá agricultural technique today and
could, conceivably, supplant in the technology every white-introduced

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[27] *Op. cit.*

[28] The impression that Rengger gives of the Cayuá agriculture of the time of his visit is very much like that of the agriculture of the seminomads of the Malay peninsula with their slash-and-burn technique, their very irregular planting of fields, only to leave them during the growing season and count upon reaping some small portion of the harvest upon passing that way at a later time, during the season of fruit-bearing. It is not difficult, either, to believe that present-day Cayuá agriculture had its origin in such a system: many Cayuá *roças* still present an aspect, especially when new and just cut and burned from the *mata*, quite reminiscent of that which Rengger describes. But, in general, Cayuá agriculture of the present is on a much larger scale, *roças* are much better made and kept, and the whole presents a more settled and permanent appearance.

[29] E. g. the Caduveo of the S. P. I. post "Bananal" in Mato Grosso.

[30] *Facão* is the Portuguese word; the Cayuá, living as they do, surrounded as much by influences from Paraguay as by Brazilian influences, usually say "machete" but with a soft or Portuguese "ch". The effect is roughly that of the average English speaker pronouncing the Spanish word.

instrument. This large hand-knife, from 16 to 20 inches long, is com- 177
monly used even to "weed", that is, to cut down jungle vegetation to
the level of the ground. No primitive tool similar to the *machete* 241
appears to have existed, as probably did in the case of the metal hoe.
Earlier hoes and axes are known, and the Cayuá still have vague 412
traditions of bone and stone, respectively, having been used as materials 182
for the implements of their ancestors or their more backward neigh-
bors. In the older technology these less adequate proto-types doubt-
less were made to serve for many of the tasks that the machete per-
forms at present. But without the machete today the Cayuá would
be seriously handicaped in clearing land for farming.

Individualization

The agriculturalizing of Cayuá economy may also have led to the 178
individualizing of it, in that it seems to have tended to decrease
the ratio of joint or communal activity to individual work activity. 476
One indication of this trend may be in the fact, already mentioned, 156
that *timbó*-fishing has been abandoned, while ordinary fishing on the
part of individuals has continued, at least on a limited scale. *Timbó*- [226]
fishing was, of course, carried on in groups because of the extent of
the job to be performed. It is quite true that the abandonment of the
timbó technique may have been due merely to the fact that progressive-
ly less attention was given by the Cayuá to hunting and fishing, but
this need not disqualify it as an aspect of decreasing joint action. The
point is that joint activity may have decreased in relation to individual
activity because of different needs introduced by the change in econ-
omy; we certainly do not think that increased agriculture brought
with it, *ipso facto*, a tendency toward individualism in thinking and
behavior which made continued joint activity less and less agreable
to the Cayuá. Under different conditions, for example, joint activity
might have been increased with an increase in agriculture.

Another suggestion of the trend toward economic individualiza- 592
tion is found in the description given by Rengger of a Cayuá *roça* of
his day:[31] that a *roça* was cultivated by the members of a single house- 156
hold for whom it constituted their source of food, as far as agriculture 178
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[31] *Op. cit.*, pp. 125-6.

241 different. And so on. Although estimating the value of services seems
quite rude and approximate, the experienced peon is little likely to
435 be cheated by his *patrão* – at that point in the arrangement, at least.
464 Not only does the idea of payment for services emerge here, then, but
also that of different values in keeping with different services.

465 Nor is the payment of services the only value concept that the
648 Cayuá peons experience and carry back to their own society. While
working for their *patrões*, who sometimes live at considerable distance
466 from the home village, the peons' "board" is furnished by the *patrões*.
•177 Excessive prices are often charged and other forms of cheating prac-
[273] tices, especially when the Indians have been made drunk from *pinga* [33]
furnished (and charged for) by the *patrão*. But under normal circumstances predictable prices will prevail and also ones which are determined by "market influences" – alleged at least, if the "market" happens to be favorable to the *patrão*. A certain amount of dickering always goes on. For example, if originally agreed that cloth would be received as payment for services and the peon later decides that he prefers meat, grease, or salt, a discussion with the *patrão* will probably ensue regarding what should be the respective amounts payable in these substitutes. Sooner or later the peon will come to know the relative money and barter values of almost all the staple, essential goods of the area, and if he receive his payment in money, he may even have occasion to try out his knowledge of prices in one of the general stores of the vicinity. There is, then, ample opportunity for the Cayuá – even the non-peon sometimes – to become accustomed, not only to the general idea of placing values upon goods and services, but to thinking in terms of given values for given products and services.

177 The point, of course, is that at Taquapiry the notion of prices
for goods and services, as well as the actual prevailing prices, have
178 come to be associated with economic activities within Cayuá society,
as well as between Cayuá and non-Cayuá. Not only are some products
437 of the Cayuá *roça* coming to be produced on a scale sufficient for
438 a part of the crop to be sold for cash or bartered to non-Cayuá, but
the Cayuá are also beginning to barter or sell produce among themselves, although still to a very limited extent. An example noted by

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[33] A highly alcoholic drink of distilled, fermented cane juice. Very common in Brazil.

the writer was an intra-group sale of rice, a product which is not 177
universally planted by the Cayuá at Taquapiry. Chickens, too, which
not everyone possesses, are fairly commonly bought or bartered. There 178
is still a great deal of gift-giving or "lending" of course, with inde-
finite but nevertheless mutually understood implications. This fact, 437
together with the fact that gifts and loans still predominate, seem to 438
make the sale and barter type of exchange noteworthy as almost cer-
tainly recently introduced features of Cayuá economy.

But the matter has developed farther – and here there is cer- 177
tainly adequate evidence for postulating the definite introduction of
the trait. Specified services are being contracted for between Cayuá 178
at rates of compensation which are fixed and stated before the services
are performed. A man (or a woman – a widow, in the cases observed) 464
will *capinar* (weed) a certain amount of *roça* in return for which he 437
or she will be paid so many meters of cloth, for example, by the
"*patrão*". The Cayuá still refer to these arrangements with humor, 465
especially to the part about one of them acting as "*patrão*." But there
can be no doubt that such arrangements are being made with suf-
ficient frequency to represent more than merely isolated incidents,
bereft of wider significance.

It would be interesting to consider further the effect upon the 177
older institution of the joint work party, with its *chicha*, of this oc-
casional payment of individual services. Clearly, some of the work 178
which the Cayuá *roça*-owner finds himself unable or unwilling to
perform, and which formerly would presumably have been done, if 496
at all, by a *puxirão* party followed by the serving of *chicha*, may now 437
be done for direct and specified payment on a basis that is largely
commercial. Perhaps, then, the reference by some informants to the
"cost" of a *puxirão*, in corn for *chicha*, is not as strained or figurative
as it might seem: the price concept may now have invaded the institu-
tion of the *puxirão*, which could hardly have been based on any such
concept in the past. There is every reason to think that formerly
– and still today, in many respects – the basis of the *puxirão* work
party was one of mutual asistance, the acceptance of social and
reciprocal obligations, and pride in the quantity and quality of the
chicha, all of which are somewhat divorced from any direct and im-
mediate calculation of the value of the *chicha* in relation to the
value of the work done at the *puxirão*. In other words, the "social

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476 values" were of primary importance in the *puxirão,* and not just the
437 price value of the work as against the price value of the *chicha* one
was obliged to furnish.

Returning momentarily to the previous remarks in this paper
177 about the seemingly growing "individual" character of economic activity,
182 it may well be pointed out that in the system of peonage, as nowhere else (or *if* nowhere else), the contribution or production of
434 the individual alone, as a single unit factor, is emphasized. In a *puxirão,* or any other joint labor enterprise, it is only the overall or joint production that can be thought of; it would be difficult and of no interest to take account of the quality and amount of work of each member of the party. The reverse is true in peonage. The individual's service is contracted and paid for according to how much and how thorough it may be. What he receives from his service as a peon is put in his own pocket. When the work is finished, no *chicha* is given by the *patrão,* and when the peon returns to his village, he is certainly not expected to place his money or his goods at the disposal of any larger social group such as the extended family. If he brings home seed or young plants which he has received as payment for his work they will be used in his own *roça.* He also knows how much, approximately, he can earn in a specified period of time, and he brings, perhaps, to the consideration of many things about which he never thought that way before a knowledge of their price in money and barter.

The fact that not everybody enters into periodic peonage, creates
434 a very definite basis for economic inequality. The peons, of course,
182 tend to possess more white trade goods, although not necessarily
184 more goods. A peon may have a better machete than a non-peon, or he may have two machetes, a horse, or a pig which he has received in
177 payment for a long period of service away from the village. He may not eat as well, however, as the non-peon who has spent all his time in his *rôça* while the peon was away working for the *patrão.* These qualitative and quantitative differences obviously play a part in enhancing economic differences between individuals.

476 The peon, if he has been away for long, may not care to attend the *puxirões* of others when he returns, for he will have enough to
182 do to "catch up" with the work of his own *roça.* He himself, however,
177 may wish to give a *puxirão,* to help "catch up." In this case, the
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purely economic utility of the *puxirão* institution is likely to be the 476
principal consideration rather than its "social values". The non-peon
also may not have as much *need* of a *puxirão* because he works only 177
in his own *roça* and therefore does more of the work himself. 434

The foregoing, it is hoped, may serve to give some idea not only 121
of who and how many are the Cayuá but more especially of some of
their historical background, certain and inferential, and of some 177
of the forces which have been or still are at work in respect to the 178
economic features of their culture. The question of Jesuit contact and the importance of such influences, if they did occur, was discussed. Described as negative factors making for an increasingly important agriculture were the long-range economic effects of the diminution of Cayuá territory and the loss of Cayuá mobility, the disappearance of the canoe; as positive factors were emphasized the stability made possible in the white "guarantee" of relative safety from attack, and the white introduction of metal tools of much higher efficiency in agriculture. A possible tendency toward less joint work and more individual work was suggested. And as a contributing factor to this "individualization", as well as to the introduction of a "commercial" type of thinking, the Cayuá contact with whites through their present system of peonage was pointed out. It would be interesting to observe the results of some of these forces or the outcome of the trends tentatively identified, say ten, twenty, or fifty years hence.

São Paulo, Brasil.

Chane SF8
Guarani SM4

/300 cont./

080 and id., 1, pp. 161-196; Church, pp. 206-227; Mujía; etc.).
174 I shall limit myself to tracing here, in their main lines, the
121 characteristics of the great Guarani migration which ended in the
C formation of the Chiriguano tribe.

101 The Chiriguano Indians belong to the Tupi-Guarani
174 linguistic family. A branch separated from the great Guarani
[199] nation or, more exactly, a swarm separated from the whole
group of tribes of Paraguay and southern Brazil called Guarani,
they came to establish themselves at the foot of the Andes at
the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century after
G crossing the Chaco plains.

174 /301/ The causes of this great movement, which swept
167 along so many thousands of Guarani toward the frontiers of the Inca
439 Empire, are explained by the singular attraction which metal ob-
● [177] jects, clothes, in a word everything that can make life easier
and more beautiful, exerted and continue to exert on the Indians.
The Guarani of Paraguay and the Tupi of the Brazilian coast had
known for a long time about Peru and its riches. From there they
used to receive bronze instruments and ornaments of silver and
sometimes also of gold (1). At the same time as these objects,
confused descriptions reached them of these mountain peoples, so
strange, who lived in stone huts, had "deer with long hair" at
G their service, and who decorated their persons with brilliant jewels.
[487] Bronze axes, necklaces, bracelets, breastplates, diadems, and
goblets of silver reached them by a trade route whose exact posi-
tion is unknown, but which probably used to pass through the
Ce northern Chaco. The Chané /Chane/ who lived in direct contact
175 with the populations of the Inca Empire and traded with them,
437 played the role of brokers, and with them as middlemen these tools
439 and ornaments reached Paraguay, passing from hand to hand (2).

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1. On the trade relations between the peoples of the Andes and the tribes of the Chaco, Paraguay, and Brazil, cf. Nordenskiöld, 9, pp. 255-259.

2. Hernández, p. 322: "They were asked of what race are those who have the silver and the

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/fn. 2 cont./ from the çorocotoquys to the payçunos two, and near them are the çurumanos and ximeonos, and from there they take a four or five days' journey to the carcaras who are the masters of the metal, and together with them are the camires who similarly are the masters of the metal." Naturally the "maya" concerned in some of these lists are the Mbayá /Mbaya/ of the Guaikurú /Guaicuru/ family.

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/302/ This infiltration of objects probably lasted a very long time before the Guarani had the idea of going themselves to get them at their source. Notions about the Inca Empire, at first vague and uncertain, must have become more precise little by little and must have increased their desire to know with their own eyes the fabulous men and countries which produced so many beautiful and strange things. We must imagine the attitude of the Guarani Indians toward the populations subject to the Inca as being /303/ in every way similar to that of their descendants, the Chiriguano, and the present-day small tribes of the Chaco with respect to the white men. There are still tribes who have never seen them, but who already possess iron objects whose

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importance in the struggle for life they appreciate fully. I have in my collections two Tsirakua burins whose points are of iron, and yet these Indians have never seen a white man and probably have scarcely heard of them. If there is a chance to be able to approach without danger half-breed or creole villages, they will

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do it. Thus it is that we have each year a temporary migration of thousands of Indians toward the ingenios (sugar mills) of Argentina. Among the numerous tribes which make their way toward the sugar-cane plantations, there are perhaps many who had never had any direct contact with the white men to whom they are going in order to seek an easing of their lives and an

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improvement in their material conditions. By leaving for the Chaco and the Andes, the Guarani thus obey the same aspirations as these poor Tšawanko (Chiriguano) whom one meets in autumn on the highways which lead to Argentina.

/303 cont./

000 on the highways which lead to Argentina. If the Guarani invasion
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195 was brutal, it is because they felt powerful enough to try to take
721 possession of the coveted riches by force. Not long ago the
167 Chiriguano did not hesitate to attack the farms of the creoles if
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721 they profited by it or if a wrong had been done to them.

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● 177 We must remember also that the Guarani were warlike; used to overcoming neighboring tribes, they did not draw back
648 at the prospect of distant expeditions and besides were endowed
181 with a spirit of adventure, which has caused them to be called
167 the "Phoenicians of South America." At the beginning of the
[101] 16th century the Guarani were in the full swing of expansion;
[175] the crossing of the Chaco was not going to stop them.

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177 The first Guarani who crossed the Chaco and came home again richly clothed, adorned with metal ornaments, doubtless
181 aroused the same attitude which is felt toward any modern
167 Chiriguano who comes back to his village after six months' stay in Argentina. One should see them then, dressed from head to foot, booted and spurred and prancing about proudly on a more or less emaciated horse. Question them about their recollections: with pride they will tell you about their love affairs, will allude to their bloody brawls, and will express their admiration for all the surprising things they have seen. They will talk to you especially about their gains, for they left in order to have knives, axes, heads of cattle. It is those assets which have given them "face" and improved their existence, and the acquisition is clothed in all the charms of adventure and a trip to the land of wonders (1).

1. On the attraction that Peru exerted on the Guarani Indians and on the trips the latter made toward the Cordillera, see the texts cited by Gandia (2, p. 32, notes 1 and 2). This is why the Guarani insisted very strongly that Irala lead them to the land of the Indian "masters of the metal."

In a letter from Martín González (1556) quoted by Gandia, it is said that at Asunción "there are many Indians who have gone, come

/303 cont./

> 177 there two or three times with their children and
> 181 wives, through here in front of this city, by a
> 167 river which would be two leagues from here,
> which goes to the city of the Plata, and near the river the Indians from here are settled and more throughout the cordillera, and they say that they are not a hundred leagues from here.
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> "Also these carios have gone there to the sierras and come by another river, which is up to forty leagues from here, this lower Paraguay, which is called the Ypití; and thus likewise carios villages are there in the sierras, near this said river, which goes, according to what those who come from Peru say, to near the city of the Plata." /Translated from the Spanish./

167 /304/ The migration of the Guarani toward the west goes
177 on today in a not very apparent form but with a certain regularity.
797 It is probable that the secularization of the Franciscan missions,
which will bring in its wake the impoverishment of the Indians and will render their fate more miserable in their present homeland, will have the result of accelerating this exodus.

174 Were there no other motives than the desire to pillage or
167 trade which might formerly have led the Guarani to the land of metal?

Apparently not. But every ethnic phenomenon is complex in its causes and effects, and trying to explain it by one single factor is an attempt always superficial and subject to caution. The work of the historian, like that of the ethnographer, is to separate all the elements which have combined to produce the facts which traditions and chronicles record.

[721] Granted that the Guarani migration had as its direct cause the taste for pillage, the singular attraction which Peru exerted on the Indians of the forests; but was there not also some obscure belief, some mystic aspiration which might have played its role in this great collective adventure? Along with the definite ambition to conquer was there not mixed the memory of some old myth which might have contributed to launching this movement? I think so.

Guarani SM4
Guarayu SF11

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773 /308 cont./
173 Jesuit, author of this letter, tells us that Candire is their god.
175 Actually, even today, Candir has a place among the culture
Gu gods or great gods of the Guarayú. In a fragment of Guarayú
[776] mythology published by Cardús (p. 76) Candir appears at the
[773] beginning of the world in the company of Mbiracucha (Viracocha),
Zaguaguayu, Abaangui, and Tamoi. The creation of the
Negroes is attributed to Candir.

G There is nothing extraordinary in seeing the Inca decked out
● 177 with the name of a Guarani god or culture hero. Confusion must
773 have been produced there analogous to that provoked nearly
everywhere in South America by the arrival of the white men. As we know, the latter have almost always been merged with the culture heroes. In the same way that the Tupinamba and Guarani saw in the first Spanish or Portuguese the descendants of the culture god or hero, it is possible that the ancient Guarani pictured Peru as the mysterious region to which the Great Ancestor had withdrawn; and in the sovereign of that empire they doubtless believed they recognized the culture hero himself, Candire.

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167 All those who know the Indians of tropical America from
174 having seen them will have no difficulty in picturing these migrations of the Guarani toward the Andes.

G When an enterprising chief with his "soldiers" succeeded
[721] in crossing the Chaco and making some fruitful raid among the
Chané, nothing else was needed for the news to spread from
mouth to mouth upon their return and arouse everywhere the de-
G sire to imitate him and the hope of similar gains. In each
174 village the affair was discussed, the chiefs talked in the even-
167 ing around the fire or at the time of the great collective drink-
721 ing bouts, and the young men dreamed of obtaining, in their
[177] turn, silver ornaments, bronze axes, and the long woolen shirts
in which those who had come back from the land of the Candir dressed. Here and there people decided to leave in the good season to try their luck. The inhabitants of several villages took counsel together to set the date of departure and they prepared for it slowly. The women busied themselves with the provisions, roasted corn and made flour of it or grated manioc which they transformed into cassava bread. Others prepared corn beer for the feast which would precede the departure.

Chane SF8
Guarani SMY ●

/329 cont./

Ce 172 167 [177]
clearly Arawak by its technique and many a detail of its structure. It dates from an epoch when the Chané, newly come to the foot of the Andes, had not yet undergone the Andean influence of the populations of the Bolivian south (Chicha, Atacama, etc.).

C G 181 171
When they arrived among the Chané, the Guarani had a civilization nearly identical with that of their racial brothers, the Tupinamba of the Brazilian coast, whose ethnography is so familiar to us, thanks to the old French and Portuguese chronicles. They differed little from their present-day cousins, the Kainguá /Caingua/ of Brazil and Paraguay, who are independent but impoverished Guarani.

C G ● 177 181
Upon contact with the superior Chané civilization, the Guarani adopted it as it was, introducing, however, some cultural elements of Paraguayan origin. From this fusion of the two nations was /330/ formed a center of acculturation which we can designate as Chané-Chiriguano civilization.

C 177
It is through the medium of the Chané that so many aspects of Andean civilization still characterize Chiriguano culture. For how could we otherwise explain so strong an effect of Andean civilization on the Chiriguano at the time when that civilization was failing and disappearing, at least partially?

Ce 177 178
The Chané, on the other hand, established for centuries near the Chicha and other Indians of the south of mountainous Bolivia, have, thanks to their trade relations, submitted to the attractions of the Andean civilization which has infiltrated among them, as among the other tribes of the Chaco, in the form of toilet objects, jewels, artistic motifs, games, words, and vices. It is these multiple contributions which give the Chané culture this Andean appearance which strikes every ethnographer used to the peoples of Brazil. But, having come from the great forests of the Amazon basin, these "Quichuaized /Quechuaized/" Arawak have faithfully kept until today furniture and utensils which betray this origin and tie them directly to their faraway relatives of the Guianas. The Chané civilization was and still is a mixed civilization formed of elements from different sources and often of opposing nature.

/330 cont./

C G The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior
177 type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guarani, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

C G Ce 177 The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into
Ce [323] Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

C G 177 563 323 [161] Ce 178 323 177 The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guarani had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guarani undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.

Ce /331 cont./
178 The pernicious and corruptive influence of the white
439 men, which makes so many ravages among the poor Chané, has
323 at least spared their pottery industry. They still manufacture
[177] considerable quantities of vessels which they sell to the other
Indians and to the whites. As clever business men they complied with the taste of their new clients, and the motifs with which they decorate the pieces they export are as hideous and gaudy as the ones which ornament half-breed or creole textile fabrics or baskets.

C Moreover, we can understand historically certain phases
G of the transformation of the culture of the Guarani when they
177 mixed with the Chané. The ancient Guarani used to live in
178 the large house or maloca, that is, in gigantic huts sheltering
342 several families. Having emigrated to the foot of the Andes,
596 they kept until well into the 17th century a type of habitation
which corresponded to a particular social organization (the large maternal and undivided family). In the 18th century we
G see them living in huts similar to the ones they still have today,
177 intended to house only one family. In the same way one can
178 witness the disappearance of cannibalism, which in the 18th
266 century is no more than a memory among the Chiriguano.
Certain traces of it have survived up to our day.

C Thus these pages justify the assertions of the preface.
17 With the Chiriguano we are dealing with a nation of recent
formation whose civilization is a composite of Guarani, Arawak, and especially Andean elements. The geographic area inhabited by the Chiriguano can be divided into as many diverse zones of acculturation as America has. It has brought about, not the joining of three cultures, but their fusion.

Résumé

C
105 The Chiriguano belong to the Tupi-Guarani linguistic
175 family.

C They emigrated from Paraguay to the foot of the Andes in
[167] the last quarter of the 15th century and the first half of the 16th.

/11 cont./

C. The preceding historical sketch has shown that we can
Gi ascertain the history of the Chiriguano by means of numerous
175 documents over a period of 400 years, up to that epoch so
178 important for their future fate and culture, during which they
167 emigrated from their native country and settled in a distant region. In this new country they found completely different conditions of life. All three factors by which all human life and all human culture are influenced and conditioned, nature, social state, and the spiritual culture of the ambient, were different in the new surroundings, and for that reason during the four centuries of their history they had to modify their primordial culture, which they had brought from their native country.

C The products of their present-day culture, dealt with in
178 this publication by means of the ethnographic collection that
[126] I brought from Machareti and Toledo, must be regarded as the result of numerous and different interacting factors. Some of the products of the old culture were kept in a fairly primordial form up to today; others were modified, either being perfected or in some cases degenerating. Many were completely lost because of the modified circumstances, and some were added as a result of the assimilation of outside cultures.

C. As we have already said, the question of the influences on
Gi 177 Chiriguano culture has been extensively dealt with by Erland
174 Nordenskiöld (43). While the Chiriguano received relatively

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43. Nord. 2, pp. 195-213. Cf. Alfred Métraux: "Etudes sur la civilisation des indiens Chiriguano /Studies on the Culture of the Chiriguano Indians/," Revista del Instituto de Etnología de la Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Tucumán. Vol. I, No. 3 (cited in what follows as Métraux I), pp. 299 and 300.

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/11 cont./
little from the Indians of the Chaco, we must derive the most important modifications in their culture from the influences of the ancient Peruvian culture. Because of the short duration of the Inca Empire after the time of the immigration of the Chiriguano, we must suppose that these influences were less direct influences than indirect ones through the confluent peoples of the mountainous land of Peru and Bolivia, who had been in contact with the ancient Peruvians for a long time and many of whom had been subjugated by the Chiriguano and made to enter into their community as slaves or vassals. Ce [177] We know that the culture of the Chané, who made up the greater part of the Chiriguano population, had contact with the ancient culture of the Peruvians. In contrast with the influence of the ancient Peruvian culture, the influence of the whites had rather more negative and destructive effects than constructive ones on the primordial culture of the Chiriguano and the Chané, leaving many native industries superfluous because it was more convenient to replace their products with imported merchandise.

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In the respective chapters that deal with the various developments of the culture of the Chiriguano and Chané, we shall expound the details of these cultural influences.

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Physical Characteristics

Chiriguano and Chané Types Photographed in Machareti and Toledo

I.C. 354.	Group of Chiriguano men, women, and children. Machareti. (Fig. 3.)
I.C. 335.	Chiriguano men. Machareti. (Fig. 6.)
I.C. 361.	Chiriguano children. Machareti. (Fig. 7.)
I.C. 359.	Chiriguano women. Machareti. (Fig. 4.)
I.C. 360.	Chiriguano women with babies. (Fig. 5.)
I.C. 362.	Chiriguano children. (Fig. 8.)
I.C. 243.	Izozó cacique. Toledo. (Fig. 10.)
I.C. 244.	Izozó boy. Toledo. (Fig. 11.)
I.C. 245.	Izozó lad. Toledo. (Fig. 13.)

GUARANI SM4
Mbaya SK11

A 302 [142 826] All the Abipones have thick, raven-black locks; a child born with red or flaxen hair would be looked upon as a monster amongst them. The manner of dressing the hair differs in different nations, times, and conditions. The Abipones, previously to their entering colonies, shaved their hair like monks, leaving nothing M [302] but a circle of hair round the head. But the women of the Mbaya nation, after shaving the rest of their heads, leave some hairs untouched, to grow like the crest of a helmet, from the M [413] forehead to the crown. As the savages have neither razors nor scissars, they use a shell M [237] sharpened against a stone, or the jaws of the fish palometa, for the purpose of shaving. Most of the Abipones in our colonies let their hair grow long, and twist it into a rope like European soldiers. The same fashion was adopted by the women, but with this difference, that they tie the braid of hair with a little piece of white cotton, as our countrymen do with black.

A [765] At church, and in mournings for the dead, they scatter their hair about their shoulders. Gu 302 The Guarany Indians, on the contrary, whilst GU [177] they live in the woods, without the knowledge of religion, let their hair hang down their backs: now that they have embraced Christianity, and entered various colonies, they crop it like priests. But the women of the Guarany towns wear their hair long, platted, and bound with a

GUANA SK7
GUARANI SH4
MBAYA SK11
PAYAGUAS SK12

M G Gu P 301

streets smoking tobacco out of a very long reed; figures in every respect terrible to behold.

Gu 301

GU [177]

The thing which is inserted into the lip, of whatever material it may be made, is called by the Guaranies *tembetà*, and is universally used by them whilst they wander about the woods without religion; but after being converted to Christianity and settled in colonies they throw away this lip appendage. The hole of the lip, which neither salve nor plaster will cure, however, remains, and in speaking the saliva sometimes flows profusely through it; it also impedes them a little in pronouncing some words. All the plebeian Indians whom I discovered in the woods of Mbaeverá, both youths and adults, used a short slender reed for the tembetà; but that of the three caciques was made of a gold-coloured gum or rosin. At first sight I could have sworn that it was glass. In the heat of the sun that beautiful gum flows plentifully from the tree abati timbabỹ, and falls gradually into the models of tembetàs, crosses, globes, or any other figure they like: exposed to the air it grows as hard as a stone, so that no liquid can ever melt it, but still retains its glassy transparency. If this rosin of the tree abati timbabỹ were not possessed of singular hardness, the tembetà made of it, after remaining whole

Gu 301 304

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153 797 to the divine law. Although the Americans are but slow of understanding, yet when the good sense of the teacher compensates for the stupidity of his pupils, they are successfully converted to civilization and piety, and even instructed in arts of all kinds. If you wish to see, with your own eyes, to what a degree in-

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177 797 struction sharpens the wits of the Indians, and enlarges their comprehensions, go and visit the Guarany towns; in all of which you will find Indians well skilled in the making and handling of musical instruments, in painting, sculpture, cabinet-making, working metals of every kind, weaving, architecture, and writing; and some who can construct clocks, bells, gold clasps, &c. according to all the rules of art. Moreover, there were many who printed books, even of a large size, not only in their native tongue, but in the Latin language, with brass types, which they made themselves. They also write books with a pen so artfully, that the most discerning European would swear they were printed. The Bishops, Governours, and other visitants, were astonished at the workmanship of the Indians, which they saw or heard of in the Guarany towns. The Guaranies were instructed in music, and other arts, by the Jesuit Missionaries, Italians, Flemings, and Germans, who found the Indians docile beyond their expectation.

A 622 554

Roỹ, Capitâ Tupânchichu, Capitâ Veraripotschiritù, neglecting their own word, *aba rubicha;* so universal and honourable is the title of captain amongst the savage nations. Should an Abipon meet a Spaniard dressed very handsomely, he would not hesitate to call him captain, though he might be of low rank, and distinguished by no dignity or nobility whatever. Moreover, in Paraguay, Spaniards of the lowest rank, who live in the country, are extremely ambitious of the title of captain, and if you do not call them so every now and then, will look angry, and refuse to do you any kind of service, even to give you a drop of water if you are ever so thirsty. The Christian Guaranies have the same foolish mania for titles. After having laboured hard for two or three years in the royal camps, they think themselves amply repaid for their toils and wounds, if, at the end of the expedition, they return to their colony honoured by the royal governour with the title and staff of a captain. At all times even when employed, barefoot, in building or agriculture, they ostentatiously hold the captain's staff in their hands. When they are carried to the grave, this wooden ensign is suspended from the bier. When a man is at the point of death, and just going to receive extreme unction, he puts on his military boots and

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G [177]

GUARANI SM4

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spurs, takes his staff in his hand, and in this trim awaits the priest, and even approaching death, as if in the intent of frightening the grim spectre away. On the domestics' expressing their surprize at the unusual attire of the dying man, he sternly and gravely observes, that this is the manner in which it becomes a captain to die. Such is the signification and the honour attached to the word captain in America.

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Amongst the Guaranies, who have embraced the Christian religion, in various colonies, the name and office of cacique is hereditary. When a cacique dies, his eldest son succeeds without dispute, whatever his talents or disposition may be. Amongst the Abipones, too, the eldest son succeeds, but only provided that he be of a good character, of a noble and warlike disposition, in short, fit for the office; for if he be indolent, ill-natured, and foolish in his conduct, he is set aside, and another substituted, who is not related to the former by any tie of blood. But to say the truth, the cacique elected by the Abipones has no cause for pride, nor he that is rejected for grief and envy. The name of cacique is certainly a high title amongst the Abipones, but it is more a burden than an honour, and often brings with it greater danger than profit. For they neither revere their cacique as a master, nor pay him tribute or

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chit; but as they are unable to express *second*, A
third, *fourth*, in their language, instead of these 192*
numbers, they place before the commandments, 802
and another, *and another*, &c. *Cat laháua*, *cat laháua*, &c. They have, however, words signifying first and last, *Endm cahèk*, that which goes before, and *Iñagehèk*, that which comes last.

They have only two distributive numerals: each *Iñitarapè*, and *Iñbakatapè*, which answers to the Latin, *bini*. *Liñoaka yahat*, means twice. *Ekátarapek*, and sometimes *Haúc ken*, once. This is the extent of the Abiponian arithmetic, and the whole of their scanty supply of numbers. Scarce richer are the Guarany Indians, G
who cannot go beyond the number four. They 192
call One, *Peteỹ*. Two, *Mokoỹ*. Three, *Mbohapĭ*. 802
Four, *Irundỹ*. First, *Iyipibae*. Second, *Imomokoyndaba*. Third, *Imombohapĭhaba*. Fourth, *Imoimrundỹhaba*. **Singuli*, *Peteỹteỹ*. *Bini*, *Mokoỹmokoỹ*. *Terni*, *Mbohápĭhapĭ*. *Quaterni*, *Irundỹ rundỹ*. Once, *Peteỹ yebĭ*. Twice, *Mokoỹ yebi*, &c. The Guaranies, like the Abipones, G
when questioned respecting a thing exceeding 802
four, immediately reply, *Ndipapahabi*, or *Ndipapahai*, 177
innumerable. But as a knowledge of numbers is highly necessary in the uses of civi-

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* I give the original Latin in this and other places, where the English does not fully express the meaning.

GUARANI SM4

G lized life, and above all, in confession, the Gua-
802 ranies were daily taught at church to count
177 in the Spanish language, in the public explanation, or recitation of the catechism. On Sunday, the whole people used to count from one to a thousand, in the Spanish tongue, in the church. But it was all in vain. Generally
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[153] speaking, we found the art of music, painting, and sculpture, easier learnt than numbers. They can all pronounce the numbers in Spanish, but are so easily and frequently confused in counting, that you must be very cautious how you credit what they say in this matter.

A For the conjugation of verbs, no paradigm
*192 can be given; as the singular number of the
*193 present tense of the indicative mood differs in almost all words, and is more difficult to learn than the augments of the Greek verbs. The second person particularly takes new letters, not only in the beginning, but also in the middle, and the end, as will appear from the examples which I shall lay before you.

Singular.			*Plural.*
I love	Rikapit	*We love*	Grkapitàk
Thou lovest	Grkàpichì	*Ye love*	Grkápichil
He loves	Nkàpit	*They love*	Nkapitò
I know	Riáraige	Graáraigè	Yaraige
I remember	Hakaleènt	Hakaleènchì	Yakaleènt

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faces by this name as if they were a terror to the eyes.

Latè, indicates the place of action, thus: *Nahamátr̃alatè,* the place of the fight. *Kiñier̃alatè,* the place where one eats, that is, the table.

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They ingeniously invented names borrowed from their native tongue, for things introduced from Europe, or made by Europeans. They did not like either to appear poor in words, or to contaminate their language by adopting foreign ones, like the other Americans who borrow words from the Spaniards. Horses, which the Spaniards call *cavallos,* the Guaranies call *cavayù,* and oxen, which the Spaniards call *novillos,* they call *nobì.* The Abipones, on the contrary, call a horse *ahëpegak,* an ox, *ŷúihàk,* and a bull, *ŷúihàk lepà,* an uncastrated ox, a name derived from their own language, though, before the coming of the Spaniards, they were unacquainted with these animals. They call a church *loakal lëëriki,* the house of images, or *natamenr̃eki,* where thanks are given to God. A gun is expressed by *netelr̃anr̃e,* which means a bow from which arrows are cast. Perhaps it is derived from the word *netè,* a storm, because a gun resembles the thundering of a storm. Gunpowder is called *netelr̃anr̃e leenr̃a,* the flour of the gun; a book, *lakatka,* which means a word, tongue, speech. They call a letter, or any

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G /96 cont./ [Francisco Horta]

Gi Among the agents of culture change of the Terêna and
177 Kaiwá communities, we note the Francisco Horta Native Post,
[872] built in 1924-25, along with its school, whose teacher is now
G a woman missionary from the neighboring "Missão Evangélica
Gi Caiuá"; the Protestant mission itself, with its well-equipped
[797] infirmary, nursery for orphan children, church, and school,
G all of these annexes being situated on a land plot next to the
Gi entrance of the reservation; several "bolichos" situated on the
[366] chief ways of access to the aldea; the fazendas of the region,
Gi characterized by the maté industry, with Paraguayans and
[464] Kaiwá Indians from Francisco Horta /97/ working on its extraction; and naturally, the city of Dourados, which is only
G five kilometers away.

Gi As a result of the persistent work of the missionaries,
797 nearly all of the Terêna community call themselves Protestants.
G [795] On the other hand, the infrequent visits of the Catholic padres
Gi of Dourados to the reservation are not sufficient to attract the
[771] [114] Kaiwá, whose religious vitality, so well analyzed by Schaden (155)

155. Cf. Egon Schaden, 1954:159-170.

G Gi keeps them attached to their own traditions. And as a result
798 of the Protestant proselytism, one notes in Francisco Horta--
621 as in the other indigenous communities where "Believers"
have settled--a certain social tension, manifested in the discrimination of non-Protestant individuals toward those who
G call themselves "Believers," whether Terêna or Kaiwá Indians.
Gi From what we were able to ascertain during our stay at the
[795] mission--where we were for five days--, the religious bonds
[619] were stronger among the Terêna and Kaiwá than the tribal
bonds; that is, all of the "Believers," without consideration
of tribal or ethnic origin, were united against those who did
not profess the same creed.